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ARTISTS  
OF THE ITALIAN  
RENAISSANCE



FROM THE CHRONICLERS

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ARTISTS OF THE ITALIAN  
RENAISSANCE

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THEOLOGY

(After the fresco by Raffaello in the Stanze of the Vatican.)



ARTISTS  
OF THE  
ITALIAN  
RENAISSANCE

Translated from the  
Chronicles : and  
arranged by  
E. L. SEELEY

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The binding of this volume  
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APP 13 1962

The title, on reverse of this  
page, is adapted by J. RIGBY  
from the late Cinquecento  
“*Triumphs of Petrarch,*” *B.M.*  
*Harley MS., 5761.*



## P R E F A C E

SOME explanation is perhaps necessary of the plan and method of this book. My subject is the Italian artists as they were affected by the political history of their land, sometimes themselves taking part actively in the stirring events of the time, and sometimes swept away and their works submerged by the torrent of disaster. The rise of art in Italy has always been connected with the rise of the cities in riches and prosperity, and the eager impetuosity which displayed itself in their fierce rivalry was as manifest in the contests of art as in war.

Rome lay in ruins and the shepherd fed his flock on her site, until the ambitious Popes who fought with carnal weapons for dominion lavished their treasures in rebuilding her. It is a time of strong passions, of selfish, unscrupulous ambitions, and of passionate love of independence, but the rulers, ardently seeking their own advancement, are as ardent in promoting the production of great works of art. The Fathers of the City in

the Sea contend with their rivals on the Mainland and the advancing Turk, while they employ the riches won by commerce in having the victories of their fleets painted on the walls of their public buildings. Popes and cardinals carry artists in their train while they wage war themselves or are calling the foreign enemy into their land. The artists of Florence direct the destruction of their beautiful suburbs, while they work in secret on their own immortal works. It is this story that I have endeavoured to tell, drawing the accounts of the artists from the writings of Vasari, Ridolfi, Lanzi, Malvasia, and others, and interweaving it with the accounts of contemporary history from Sanuto, Sabellicus, Villani, Machiavelli, Varchi, Nardi, Morosini. To make the book more readable, I have let it flow on in one continuous course, not marking where it passes from one author to another; but the story is told by the Italian writers themselves, translated freely and much abridged. A summary of the authorities from whom I have drawn the major portion of the text of each chapter will be found in the Appendix.

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## ERRATUM

*For Frederigo in inscription to Plate facing  
p. 98, read Federigo.*



# ARTISTS OF THE ITALIAN RENAISSANCE

## CHAPTER I

### PISA

ITALY had painters even in the barbarous times. This has been clearly shown by historians, and it may be proved by various paintings which have escaped the ravages of time. Rome possesses some of the most ancient, and many others exist in various towns. But the painters of those times are unknown, produced no great disciples, nor are their works sufficient to make their age illustrious. Art had become a mere mechanical representing of certain religious subjects. It was not till the middle of the thirteenth century that anything really noteworthy begins to appear.

The glory of the first awakening belongs to the Tuscans, and especially to the town of Pisa. They taught the other artists to shake off the yoke of the modern Greeks—the Byzantine tradition—and to follow the guidance of the ancients. Barbarism had not only destroyed art, it had also destroyed

## 2 THE ITALIAN RENAISSANCE

that which was most necessary to revive it. Yet there was no want in Italy of fine Greek and Roman marbles, but no artist for a long time had admired them or turned his attention to imitating them. Niccola Pisano was the first to see the light and to follow it.

Little by little things improved from the day when the people of Pisa began to build their great cathedral. For at that time it was a great undertaking to set to work upon a church made like that, almost all of marble within and without. It was made from the designs of Buschetto, a Greek of Dulicchio, a very rare artist for those days, and it was built and adorned by the Pisans with the infinite treasures brought by sea from various distant places (they then being at the height of their greatness), as the columns, with their bases and capitals and cornices and other stones, testify. These stones were of various sizes—large, and small, and middling, and Buschetto showed great judgment and talent in finding places for them, and distributing them about the fabric within and without.

The building of the cathedral of Pisa, arousing all over Italy, but especially in Tuscany, the minds of many to undertake great things was the cause that the city of Pistoja began the church of San Paulo and many other buildings which would be too long to mention. But I must not forget that the round church of San Giovanni was built oppo-

site the cathedral of Pisa and in the same piazza. And, what is a marvellous thing and almost incredible, it is recorded in an ancient book of the works of the cathedral that the columns of San Giovanni, the pilasters, and the vaulting were erected in fifteen days and no more. And the same book states, as any one can see who likes, that, for the building of it, a tax of one danaro a hearth was imposed, but it does not say whether of gold or not. At that time there were in Pisa, the book says, 34,000 hearths.

The citizens of Lucca at the same time, in rivalry of the Pisans, began the church of San Martino in Lucca, from designs by some of Buschetto's disciples, there being no other architects in Tuscany then. One Guglielmo, by nation, I think, a German, having made improvements in art, was employed to build several edifices of importance, and it is said that, with a sculptor named Bonanno, he erected the campanile of the cathedral in Pisa, on which are cut the words, "A.D. MCLXXIII. campanile hoc fuit fundatum mense Augusti." But these two architects, not having much experience in Pisa, did not make the foundation with piles, as they ought to have done, and before they were half through the building it inclined to one side, so that the campanile is six and a half braccia out of the perpendicular, leaning to the side where the foundation gave way; and although it is slight in the lower part, it shows

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enough in the upper to make one feel astonished that it can stand at all and not fall into ruins. The reason is that the building is round outside, and within is built like an empty well, and so tied together with the stones that it is impossible that it should fall, especially as it is held up by a mass of stonework in the lower part made evidently to support it after it began to give way. I think it would not be standing now if it had been square, because the sides would have fallen outwards as one often sees happen. The Carisenda Tower in Bologna, indeed, is square and leans without falling, but that happens because it is light, and it does not lean as much by a great deal as this campanile at Pisa; this latter gains great praise, not because it has any merit of design or style, but because it is so extraordinary that any one looking at it cannot imagine how it can hold up.

Now among the treasures of marble brought by the Pisan fleet were those ancient sculptures which are now in the Campo Santo—the hunt of Meleager and the boar of Calydon, carved in the finest style, for nude figures and clothed alike were executed with great skill, and the design was perfect. This marble, having for its beauty been placed by the Pisans in the façade of the cathedral, opposite San Rocco, by the side of one of the gates, served for a monument to the mother of the Countess Matilda, if the words which can be read cut on the marble are true.



The excellence of the work pleased Niccola Pisano, a sculptor who was working on the cathedral, and he devoted much pains to the study and imitation of it and other good sculptures which were found among the old remains, and in consequence was soon declared to be himself the best sculptor of his time. He was therefore called to Bologna in the year 1225, on the death of S. Dominic, the founder of the order of Preaching Friars, to make the tomb of that saint.

Niccola practised not only sculpture but architecture also, and built many palaces and churches in Pisa. But the most beautiful, ingenious, and fanciful building that he ever made was the campanile of San Niccola of Pisa, belonging to the Friars of S. Augustine. It is outside octagonal and inside round, with stairs turning in a spiral up to the top, leaving a space in the middle like a well, and over every four stairs are columns with arches turning round, thus placing the spring of the vault on these arches; it goes on rising to the top, so that any one below can see those who are ascending, and those who are ascending can see those below, and those who are in the middle can see both those above and those below. This fanciful invention was carried out in a better manner and in better proportion, and with more ornament, by Bramante at Rome in Belvedere for Julius II., and by Antonio da Sangallo in the well at Orvieto made by order of Pope Clement VII.

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In the time of Niccola the Florentines were beginning to throw down many of their towers, either because there were fewer conflicts between the Guelfs and Ghibellins, on account of which they had been made, or because there was greater public security : they thought it would be difficult to pull down the tower of the Guardamorto in the piazza of San Giovanni, because the walls were so solid that they could not be worked with pickaxes, especially as it was very high. Niccola, however, cut the tower at its foot on one side, supporting it with short props about a braccio and a half in length ; then he set fire to them, and as soon as the props were consumed it fell in ruins of itself. This was considered a method so ingenious and useful for such work that it passed into general use, and any building can be brought down in this way very easily and quickly.

Niccola had among other sons one named Giovanni, who worked with his father, and under his teaching attained to such power in sculpture and architecture that in a short time he not only equalled him but became in many ways his superior. So when he became old Niccola retired to Pisa and left the direction of everything to his son. When his father died, Giovanni came back to Pisa and was honourably received by all the city, every one rejoicing to know that after the loss of Niccola they still had Giovanni, the heir of his talents as well as his property. And when the occasion

came to prove him, they found they had not been deceived in their opinion of him. For it being necessary that some work should be done to the small but beautifully decorated church of San Maria della Spina, it was given to Giovanni to do, and he, with the aid of his pupils, carried out all the ornaments of that oratory in the perfection which may still be seen ; and the work, as we can judge, must have seemed at that time miraculous—when, for instance, they saw in one of the figures the portrait of Niccola, whom they had known. The Pisans had been wishing to make a place of burial for all the inhabitants of the city, noble and plebeian, either that they might not fill the cathedral with tombs, or for some other reason, and when they saw what he had done they gave Giovanni the charge to make the buildings for the Campo Santo which is on the piazza of the cathedral. It is his work as far as regards the style and the marble ornament, and as they took no heed to expense, they covered it with lead. Later Nello di Giovanni Falconi gave him the task of constructing the great pulpit of the cathedral, which is on the right hand as one goes to the high altar. And, in truth, we owe much to him and to Niccola, his father, because, in a time ignorant of good design, they shed no little light on those arts in which they were really excellent. Giovanni was buried in the Campo Santo with honour, in the same tomb in which his father Niccola had been placed.

Stefano, a Florentine and a pupil of Giotto, painted in fresco in the Campo Santo, a Virgin rather better in design and colour than his master's works; and the Sienese, Pietro Laurati, on the side by the principal door, painted the life of the holy fathers of the desert, which brought him the greatest praise for drawing and colour, and the life and expression in some of the faces.

When Buonamico Buffalmacco was at Pisa he painted in the Badia di San Paolo, and with him was Bruno di Giovanni. He was lamenting, one day, that his figures had not the look of life that Buonamico's had. In joke Buonamico showed him how he could make his figures not only look alive, but also speak by making some words issue from the mouth of a woman who was praying to S. Ursula, and also writing down the saint's answer, having noticed that Cimabue had done this in one of his pictures. The thing pleased Bruno and the foolish painters of that time, as it even now pleases some fools. It is strange that a thing should have passed into a custom which was begun merely as a joke; but a great part of the Campo Santo, painted by famous masters, is full of this absurdity. Buonamico's works pleasing the Pisans, he was charged with the painting of four frescoes in the Campo Santo representing subjects from the beginning of the world to the building of the ark, and round the pictures he introduced a piece of ornament in which he painted his own portrait; at least in the

frieze, at the corners and in the middle, there are heads, and one of them in a cowl is said to be his own. He painted also in the Campo Santo all the Passion, with a great number of figures, on foot and on horseback, in fine and varied attitudes. Having come to the end of these works and at the same time of his earnings in Pisa, which were not small, he returned to Florence as poor as when he set out.

Most happy are those artists who live in the time of some famous writer, and by means of a little portrait or some other artistic courtesy contrive to obtain his favour and gain eternal honour by having their names enshrined in his writings. Thus Simone was exceedingly fortunate to live in the time of Messer Francesco Petrarca, and at the court of Avignon to meet the amorous poet desirous to have the portrait of Madonna Laura from the hand of Messer Simone; for, receiving it, beautiful as he desired, he immortalised him in his sonnets. And indeed those sonnets, and the mention that is made of him in one of the familiar letters in the fifth book, which begins "*Non sum nescius*," have made Messer Simone more famous than all his works would have done. He was a Sienese and an excellent painter, admired in his own time and much esteemed at the Pope's court, where he executed many pictures in fresco and on panels. He was also employed to paint many things in fresco in the Campo Santo of Pisa.

Over the principal door is Our Lady borne into heaven by a choir of angels, singing and playing on instruments, in which the attitudes of the musicians are represented in a very lively manner. Below this Assumption he painted the story of San Ranieri.

In this Campo Santo also painted the Florentine Orgagna—a painter, sculptor, architect, and poet. Born in Florence, he began as a mere child to study sculpture under Andrea Pisano, and continued it for several years. Then desiring to represent large subjects, and for that to be fertile in invention, he applied himself to the study of design, being aided by a nature which wished to be universal; and, as one thing leads to another, he attempted painting in tempera and fresco, and succeeded so well that he was taken to work in Santa Maria Novella. His works soon earning him fame, those who were governing Pisa set him to work in the Campo Santo. He painted a representation of the Triumph of Death with much fanciful invention on the side facing the cathedral, by the side of the Passion of Buffalmacco. And because he knew that Buffalmacco's idea of Bruno making his figures speak, by putting words coming out of their mouths, pleased the Pisans, Orgagna filled all his works with such writing, the greater part of which through the ravages of time cannot be understood. It is a mistake, certainly, that there are no inscriptions to tell us the names of all the crowd of togged men, knights, and lords







*Renzo Gozzoli*

CENTRE PANEL FROM  
(Can...



THE TOWER OF BABEL"  
to. Pisa

*Alinari*



drawn from life, it is said, and to say who they were ; but a Pope who is seen there is thought to be Innocent IV., the friend of Manfred. After this was completed, and he had gained much honour from a Madonna which is now on the side of the old bridge, he left his brother Bernardo to finish by himself an Inferno, as Dante had described it, and returned to Florence. There he painted in the church of Santa Croce, on the right-hand side, the same subject that he had painted in the Campo Santo at Pisa. He worked it with better design and more care than he had done at Pisa, but retaining the same method in the plan, the inscriptions and the rest, only altering the portraits from life, for in this work they were his best friends whom he put in Paradise, and those little friendly to him whom he put in Hell.

Another wall the whole length of the building was entrusted to Benozzo Gozzoli, a pupil of the angelical Fra Giovanni, and much beloved by him. He painted stories from the Old Testament, displaying the most wonderful fancy and invention. Indeed, we may say that it is really a most terrific work. It contains the creation of the world, with each day's work distinct ; then the ark of Noah and the flood well composed, and with innumerable figures ; then the building of the tower of Nimrod, the destruction of Sodom, the story of Abraham, in which there are some beautiful things ; for although Benozzo had no special power in

drawing the figure, he nevertheless shows his art very effectively in the sacrifice of Isaac, in which the foreshortening of an ass has been considered something most beautiful. After that follows the birth of Moses, with all the signs and wonders with which he led the people out of Egypt and fed them in the wilderness. If we add to this the history down to David and Solomon, it will be seen that Benozzo showed more than ordinary courage; for while such a work might have frightened a legion of painters, he did it alone and carried it to a conclusion.

But at this time Giovanni Galeazzo, Duke of Milan, having prepared his royal ornaments to make himself King of Italy, fell sick and died. And to his son Gabriello Maria he bequeathed the city of Pisa, and he retired to the city with his mother. But when he found from day to day that his enemies were intriguing against him, he began secretly to intrigue with the Florentines to yield the rule to them. Having therefore received for it a large sum, Gabriello went away to Genoa, giving up the castle to them, but as soon as the Florentines had entered, they all rose up to fight for the fortress against them; and the Pisans, having captured a Florentine ship filled with victuals after an obstinate struggle, they recovered their castle. The Florentines, seeing that they had been cheated of their prey, made great preparations for war, and gave the command to







*Andrea and Nardo Orcagna*

PANEL FROM "THE  
(Camp. ...)





*Allinari*

THE TRIUMPH OF DEATH"

(1500)



Azzino Cappone, who, proceeding to Pisa, surrounded it on three sides, and harassed it with continual attacks, cutting off their supplies also, because the Genoese, who were allies of Florence, stopped the navigation of the Arno. The Pisans, rather than submit, sent an ambassador to the King of France to ask for help, promising to yield themselves to him ; but the ambassador, falling into the hands of Giovanni Cappone, was thrown into the sea, which did some harm to the Florentine merchants in Paris. The Pisans, meanwhile, seeing no hope of succour, and finding themselves falling every day deeper in penury, after some discussion, decided to surrender to the Florentines. So the Florentines gained possession of Pisa, but at such an expense that, in their books, it is called the Mount of Fear.

## CHAPTER II

### ROME

IT was after the last plague of Italy (the Lombards) had fallen upon the land, that the Popes began to gain greater power. The Emperors having left for Constantinople, the Pope was now the chief person in Rome, and was treated by both Emperor and Lombards more as an ally than as a subject. As the Imperial power in Italy declined, and the Lombards grew stronger, he was obliged to seek new support by allying himself with the King of France. From this time the barbarous people, who have overflowed into Italy, have been generally called thither by the Pope; and this has continued to this day, and still keeps Italy disunited and weak.

It was at this time that the parish priests of Rome began to call themselves cardinals, and excluded the people from any share in electing their bishop. The people of Rome therefore were constantly resisting the Popes, whose authority they had made use of to liberate themselves from the Emperor. They had taken the government into their own hands, and altered it according to their own pleasure. They became therefore hostile to

the Popes, and insulted them more than any of the Christian princes did ; and in the times when the Popes were making all the West tremble at their reproof, they had the Roman people rebelling against them. And as Gregory V. had taken from the Romans the power of electing the Emperor, so Nicholas II. deprived them of any share in the election of the Pope, giving it entirely into the hands of the cardinals. After the death of Nicholas there was a schism in the Church, because the clergy of Lombardy would not acknowledge Alexander II. who was elected in Rome, and elected in his place Cadolo da Parma. The Emperor bade the Pope Alexander resign his chair, and the Pope, holding a council at Rome, deprived Henry of his Imperial throne. This was the beginning of the Guelf and Ghibellin factions, by which Italy was torn by intestine conflict. In this dispute the Emperor sent his son Henry to Rome, and the Romans, because they hated the Pope, joined in besieging him in his fortress. The Pope was aided by Robert Guiscard, but, the Romans being obstinately rebellious, Rome was sacked and laid in ruins as in the days of the barbarians, and the edifices that some of the Popes had built or rebuilt were again destroyed.

During the contest between Alexander III. and the Emperor Frederick Barbarossa, when Milan was taken and destroyed, the Pope fled from Rome, and the Romans, recovering their power, sought to make their authority acknowledged

in the districts around. Frederick, intervening, routed the Roman army with great slaughter, and Rome ceased to be either populous or rich.

When the Popes abandoned Rome and betook themselves to France, there fell out in that city a memorable thing; for one Niccolò di Lorenzo (Rienzi) drove out the senators and made himself, with the title of Tribune, the head of the Roman Republic. He restored it to its old form, making himself such a name for justice and virtue that not only the country around but all Italy sent ambassadors to him; and the ancient provinces, seeing Rome as it were born again, paid him honour, some from fear and some from hope. But Niccolò, notwithstanding his reputation, at the very beginning abandoned himself; for, feeling himself unequal to the weight of government, he did not wait to be attacked by any one, but fled secretly to Charles, King of Bohemia, who had been chosen Emperor by order of the Pope in the stead of Louis of Bavaria. He, to gratify the Pope, sent Niccolò prisoner to his court. Not long after, one Francesco Baroncelli, in imitation of him, set himself up as Tribune, and drove out the senators; upon which the Pope, as the readiest way to crush him, took Niccolò out of prison and sent him back to Rome with the office of Tribune. He took possession of the government, and put Francesco to death, but, having made enemies

of the Colonnas, he was soon after killed by them, and the office of senator was restored.

In the year 1350 the Pope decided that the Jubilee which Boniface VIII. had ordained for every hundred years should be celebrated every fifty years. The Romans were so gratified by this decree that they consented to his sending to Rome four cardinals to reform the city, and to appoint senators as he pleased. Therefore when Urban V. succeeded, he ventured to visit Italy and Rome, but, after a few months, he returned to Avignon. After his death Gregory XI. succeeded. Italy had fallen back into its old quarrels, but the Pope brought back the court to Rome, after it had been in France seventy years. But after his death a schism arose in the Church, and lasted long. At one time there were three Popes, which kept the Church weak and in bad reputation, until a council being held at Constance, Oddo, of the house of Colonna, was elected Pope, taking the name of Martin V., and the Church was reunited after forty years.

Yet many of the Popes would have built in Rome, and made it illustrious by their works. Under the Popes Lucius III. and Urban III. there were signs that art was beginning to make progress in Rome, for in the church of S. John Lateran there are some chapels which were made from the remains of ancient buildings, and show good design and many things worthy of considera-



tion ; and, among other things, that the vaulting is carried out in a way for that time praiseworthy, and it can be seen that the architects were trying to feel their way. Innocent III. made two palaces on the Vatican Hill, which, as far as can be now seen, were of a good style ; but they were pulled down by later Popes, particularly by Nicholas V., who destroyed and rebuilt the greater part of the palace, though a part of the older building can be seen in the round tower and in the old sacristy of S. Peter's. This Innocent III., who was Pope for nineteen years, and took great pleasure in building, erected many edifices in Rome, particularly the Conti Tower, named after him, for he was of that family. It was designed by Marchionne Aretino, an architect and sculptor, who was working on the Pieve of Arezzo and the campanile the year that Innocent III. died. It is said that Marchionne made for the same Pope, in the Borgo Vecchio, the old hospital and church of Santo Spirito in Sassia, some parts of which may be seen still. In our time, indeed, the old church was still standing, before it was rebuilt in a modern style, with greater ornament and finer design, by Pope Paul III., of the Farnese family. He also made the marble chapel in Santa Maria Maggiore in Rome, where there is a portrait of Honorius III., for he made his tomb with ornament better and very different from the style that was then common in Italy.



Fra Jacopo da Turrata, of the order of S. Francis, made some of the mosaics in the chapel of the high altar of San Giovanni Laterano and in Santa Maria Maggiore; and Gaddo, having made his fame by his works in Santa Maria del Fiore, was called to Rome in 1308 by Clement V., the year after the fire which burnt the church and the palace of the Lateran, and completed some of the mosaics that Fra Jacopo had left unfinished. He afterwards worked, in the church of S. Peter, some mosaics, and, helping to finish some in Santa Maria Maggiore, greatly improved the style, departing somewhat from the Greek manner, which had nothing good in it. Giotto had been before summoned to Rome to work in S. Peter's, and was received with great honour by the Pope. He painted five pictures in the tribune and the altarpiece, which was executed with such care that no work ever left his hand better finished. He deserved, therefore, to be rewarded by the Pope, who recognised that he had been well served, with six hundred gold ducats, besides receiving from him such favours as were talked of all over Italy.

A great friend of Giotto's was in Rome at that time, Oderigi d'Agobbio, who was excellent in miniature painting, and who, having been sent for by the Pope for the purpose, illuminated some books for the library of the palace which time has in great part destroyed. He was indeed a good artist, though Franco Bolognese was a far better :

he was painting at the same time for the same Pope and for the same library. Dante mentions these two excellent illuminators in the eleventh chapter of the Purgatory :—

O dissi lui non se' tu Oderisi  
 L'onor d'Agobbio, e l'onor di quell' arte  
 Che alluminare è chiamata in Parisi ?  
 Frate, diss' egli, piu ridon le carte  
 Che pennellegia Franco Bolognese ;  
 L'onor è tutto or suo, e mio in parte.

Giotto's manner pleasing the Pope greatly, he ordered him to paint the Old and New Testament round the walls of S. Peter's. Giotto painted the angel seven braccia high that is over the organ, and many other pictures which have been restored in our days, or were taken down and removed during the rebuilding of the church and placed under the organ. Thus a Madonna was cut out from the wall because of its beauty, and, being held together with beams, was moved and walled up again where Messer Niccolò Acciaiuoli (the Florentine who holds in love and veneration all excellent work in art) thought best. There is also the ship of S. Peter worked in mosaic over the three doors of the portico in the courtyard, which is indeed a marvellous work ; for, besides the design of it, there is great variety in the Apostles working all differently during the storm on the sea, and the wind blowing a sail is represented in such strong relief that it seems real, and yet it is very difficult

with pieces of glass to make the light and shade of a great sail ; and there is a fisherman sitting on a rock fishing with a line, who displays in his very attitude all the patience necessary for that occupation, and in his face the hope and eagerness proper to it.

Giotto also painted for the Preaching Friars in their church of the Minerva a great Crucifixion in tempera, which was much praised, after which he returned to his own country. When Clement V. was made Pope he removed his court to Avignon, and summoned Giotto to work for him there. A pupil of his, Stefano, was employed in S. Peter's, and painted some pictures from the life of Christ in a very modern manner, surpassing Giotto in drawing and other matters. He also painted in fresco a San Lodovico in Araceli.

Another painter, born in Rome itself, and a pupil of Giotto, was Pietro Cavallini, who worked with him on the mosaics in S. Peter's. He showed himself no unworthy disciple in his paintings in fresco in Araceli, and in Santa Maria di Trastevere ; and afterwards, when working without the aid of Giotto, he showed that he was as good in mosaic work as in painting, and soon made himself known as Giotto's best pupil. Being pronounced by good judges an excellent master, he was favoured by the bishops and entrusted with painting some walls in S. Peter's, where the Greek manner pleasing him he mixed it with Giotto's. He delighted in giving

strong relief to his figures, and did everything that can be imagined to produce it. His best work is in the church of Araceli in the Campidoglio, a Virgin and Child in Glory, and the Emperor Octavian below, with the Tiburena Sibyl, worshipping.

Pietro went afterwards into Tuscany to see the works of his master, Giotto, and of Giotto's pupils, and on his return journey passed by Assisi, where he not only saw the works there of his master and fellow-pupils, but left something of his own, for he painted a Crucifixion in the lower church of S. Francis. Some say that he worked in sculpture and succeeded excellently, being clever in everything he put his hand to; and that he made the crucifix in the great church of S. Paul, outside Rome, which, as they say who ought to know, was the one which spoke to S. Bridget in 1370. He was a very hardworking man in everything, not only a good Christian, but very devout and very good to the poor, and very much beloved not only in Rome but by all who knew him. In his old age he gave himself very earnestly to religion, and lived such an exemplary life that he was considered a saint. It is not therefore to be wondered at that a crucifix from his hand should speak to a saint, and that a Madonna of his worked an infinite number of miracles, and still indeed continues to work them. I will not name her, though she is famous through all Italy, and though I am cer-



S. ANTHONY AND S. GEORGE.

*(After the painting by Vittore Pisano, called Pisanello, now in the National Gallery, London.)*





tain, as indeed is manifest from the style of painting, that it is from the hand of Pietro, whose most praiseworthy life and true piety were worthy of every one's imitation. No one would believe, and indeed it is not possible that any one could arrive at such honour, without the fear of God and His grace. He died in Rome at the age of eighty-five of an illness brought on by damp and working too long at hard work.

When Martin V. passed through Florence, Vittore Pisanello had acquired so much credit by his works that he took him with him to Rome, and set him to work in the church of S. John Lateran. He produced some pictures in fresco which are as charming and beautiful as possible, for he made most abundant use of some ultramarine blue which the Pope had given him and which has never been equalled. Gentile da Fabriano was painting there for the same Pope and also in Santa Maria Nuova over the tomb of Cardinal Adimari, the Florentine archbishop of Pisa, and a Madonna and Child between S. Benedict and S. Joseph, which Michael Angelo admired very much. He used to say that in painting, Gentile's hand was like his name.

Vittore Pisano was the equal of all painters of his time, as his works in Verona, his own country, testify. He was particularly fond of painting animals, and in the church of Santa Nastasia there is a S. Eustace caressing a brown-and-white dog, who

is standing on his hind legs leaning against the saint, and turning his head round as if he heard something, in the most natural and vivacious manner. Under the figure is written the name Pisano—he used to call himself sometimes Pisano and sometimes Pisanello. On the other side of the chapel there is a S. George in silver armour, as all the painters of that time painted him : he is raising his right hand, after having killed the dragon, to put his sword in his sheath, and as the sword is long he has to lower the sheath in his left hand in an attitude that is very graceful and well drawn. Michele Sanmichele, the Veronese architect, was often seen gazing at these figures of Vittore, and used to say that few things could be seen better than his S. Eustace and his dog, and S. George.



## CHAPTER III

### THE LEGEND OF THE FOUNDING OF FLORENCE

CÆSAR having overcome and destroyed the city of Fiesole, resolved to build a city on the banks of the river Arno, which should make it impossible that Fiesole should rise again, endowing it with the riches of the fallen city. He had desired that it should be named after him Cæsaria. This the Senate of Rome would not suffer, but made a decree that the other leaders in the Fiesole War should be associated with Cæsar in founding and building the city; and that he who showed himself most active in the work should name the city. Macrino, Albino, Cneo Pompeio, Mazzio hastened to join Cæsar, bringing workmen and stores from Rome. Albino undertook the paving of the city, and carried it out nobly, with the best results to the cleanliness and beauty of the city; and what it was like may still be seen by digging in the quarter of San Pietro Scheraggio, and near the San Pietro gate of the cathedral. Macrino conducted the water to the city, bringing it through pipes, over arches from a distance of seven miles. The springs above Sesto Quinto and Colonnata

were led by this conduit to Florence, and united there in a great palace called Caput aquæ, but by the common people Capaccio, of which the ruins may still be seen. It is worth notice that in old times they preferred to drink water brought through conduits rather than from wells, as being more wholesome, and few drank wine, for there were very few vineyards.

Cneo Pompeo undertook the walls of the city, and built round towers of great beauty and strength with a distance of twenty cubits between them, but the chroniclers do not tell us the size or circumference of the city except that it was very large. Mazzio built the capitol after the pattern of Rome, the palace and master-fortress of the city, and it was of marvellous beauty. It was where the old Market Place is now, below the church called Santa Maria in Campidoglio. Some, indeed, have supposed the Guardingo, by the palace of the prior, to be the ancient capitol, but that was another fortress.

The captains competed eagerly against one another, but all finished their portion at the same time, and none earned the right to name the city. At first, therefore, it was called little Rome, while others named it Floria, because in the war Florino, a famous captain, had been slain in a battle on the very site of the city; and he was held to be the flower of knighthood, while the fields were covered with lilies and other flowers. The people gladly

consented to this name as declaring it to be a city of delights. It was peopled by the better class from Rome, chosen by lots from every quarter, and any Fiesolan who would settle with them they received gladly. In course of time the name was changed to Fiorenza, which may be interpreted a "flowery sword." We find that it was built in the year 582 from the foundation of Rome and 70 before the birth of our Lord. It is no marvel that the Florentines should always be at war or quarrelling, for they spring from people so contrary, and indeed, hostile, one to the other, the Roman, noble and brave, and the Fiesolan, cruel and fierce.

Afterwards, in the time of the great Pope Saint Leo, there came into the land the King of the Goths and Vandals, Bela, surnamed Totila, and he having destroyed Aquileia and burnt it, with all its people, passed through Lombardy, destroying Vicenza, Brescia, Bergamo, Milan, Ticino, and indeed almost all the land except Modena, which was saved for the sake of the holy saint, Geminiano. And so he came into Tuscany, and found there this strong city of Florence at war, as was its habit, with Pistoja. He sent, therefore, offering his friendship and aid in the war, and the Florentines, believing his false promises and listening to his flattery, opened their gates to him and his people, and lodged him in the capitol. It is no wonder that since that day the Florentines are called the blind Florentines, for no sooner was

he within the walls, than he commanded that all should be massacred, small and great, men and women, and that the city should be spoiled of its riches, and burnt to the ground.

Of the old city there remains therefore but one of the towers on the western side and one of the gates, and within the city the old ruin called Casa Sive Domo, which we interpret the Cathedral of San Giovanni. That indeed was never destroyed, nor ever will be till the Day of Judgment, for so it is written on the pavement. There are also ruins of the towers named in the chronicles after the letters of the alphabet, Casa P. and Casa F.

For three hundred and fifty years our city of Florence lay desolate, except that there were some poor houses round San Giovanni, and the men of Fiesole, whose city Totila had commanded to be rebuilt, used to hold a market there once a week in the part called the Campo di Marte. Many times indeed the inhabitants would have enclosed part of it round the cathedral with walls and ramparts, but the people of Fiesole and the Lombard Counts of Santa Fiore came down in force to destroy what they built.

Then the good King of France, and great Emperor of Rome, Charlemagne, brought down the pride of the Lombards, and set Rome and Holy Church at liberty ; whereupon certain nobles and gentlemen of Florence, sprung from the ancient families that had dwelt there before its destruc-

tion, met together, and sent ambassadors to the King Charlemagne and to Pope Leo and the Romans, praying them to remember their daughter, the city of Florence. The ambassadors were received kindly, and the Emperor sent large forces of men, horse, and food; and the Romans made a decree that they would do as their ancestors had done, rebuild the city, and re-people it with men chosen from the best families of Rome. So the best masons from Rome came for the work, and the country people round Florence and fugitives from all parts hastened to the city, while the men of Fiesole and their party dared not issue forth against them. There is an old tradition that the Romans, following the advice of astrologers, chose for the time of the foundation the moment when the planet Mercury was in conjunction with the sun and the planet Mars in the ascendant, that the city might grow and increase by force of arms, and the inhabitants, being skilled in arts, riches, and merchandise, might bring forth great sons and become a great people. As we have said above, our city was peopled from two nations very contrary in their customs; whether, therefore, this difference is the real cause, or whether it results from the influence of the constellations, it is certain that the city of Florence is constantly subject to revolution and change, to discord and war, now victorious, now defeated, and that the citizens are occupied in merchandise and expert in art.

The new city thus arose small in circumference, yet with good walls and great towers and four chief gates, and it was divided into quarters according to the number of the gates, but as the city grew others were added.

In the year of our Lord 1218, Otto di Mandella of Milan being Podestà, the Florentines called upon all the country people round to take an oath of fealty to the Signoria, for hitherto they had held from the Counts Guidi and inferior lords. And in this year were laid the piles of the bridge Carraja. And in 1236, Rubaconte di Mandella of Milan being Podestà, he laid the first stone of a new bridge, and emptied the first basket of lime, and the bridge was called after him the Rubaconte Bridge. During his government the streets were paved, which made the city much more beautiful, cleaner, and more healthy. The bridge of Santa Trinità was made in the time of Filippo delli Ugoni, joining the Santa Trinità with the Frescobaldi house, Lamberto Frescobaldi, a person of great authority among the people, and of an important and affluent family, providing great part of the materials. The city at this time, being victorious in war, was increasing in riches and importance. The merchants therefore, with the consent of the people, ordered that the silver coins of twelve danari value should be replaced by gold. From this time the florin of 24-carat gold was coined in Florence. Eight florins weighed



an ounce, and the coin bore on one side the lily, and on the other S. John the Baptist.

The new florins began to be spread about the world, and it happened that some were taken to Tunis, and fell into the hands of the King of Barbary. He was a worthy and intelligent man, and was greatly pleased with them. He made inquiries about them, and found that they were of very fine gold ; and his interpreters read to him the inscription Santo Giovanni Battista and Florentia round the lily. Seeing that it was Christian money, he sent for the Pisan merchants, who were admitted freely to the city, and often had business with the king, by whose hands indeed the florins had come to Tunis, and questioned them about the city of Florence where these florins were made, asking in what esteem it was held by other Christians. The Pisans, moved by envy, answered contemptuously, "They are our Arabs," as much as to say, "our wild hill-tribes." The king, however, answered, "This does not look like Arab money. You Pisans, what kind of money have you?" which confused them quite, and they did not know what to answer. He inquired whether there were any merchants that came from Florence, and one was found, a discreet and prudent man named Perla Balducci, from the Ultrarno. From him the king learned the truth about the state of Florence, which the Pisans had described as being as uncivilised as the Arabs. He showed the power and magnifi-

cence of Florence, and how Pisa in comparison was a place of no power, with a population not half that of Florence, possessing no gold money, while the victories that the Florentines had obtained over them had enabled them to produce this gold florin. The Pisans thus were brought to shame, and the Florentines were declared free of the town, and allowed to settle and build a church in Tunis, with privileges equal to those of the Pisans. This story we heard from Perla himself, in 1316, when we met him in the Prior's office, an old man of ninety, but strong and clear in mind, and prosperous in his affairs.

In 1284, Florence being at peace and prosperous, the city growing in population and new suburbs rising, it was decreed in the month of February that the circuit of the city should be enlarged. The foundations of new gates were therefore laid and the building of new walls begun. And, at the same time, the city made the loggia of the piazza of Orto San Michele, where the corn is sold, and paved it, an expensive and useful work. And the same year they began to rebuild the Abbey, making the choir with the chapels, for it had been before but a little place, unworthy of its position in the city. In 1293 a great fire broke out in Florence, and more than thirty houses were burnt. At that time they set up the pilasters of black marble upon the outside of San Giovanni, for the beautifying of the church, and cleared away the



monuments and tombs round it. And on Holy Cross Day of the next year the great new church of Santa Croce, for the Minor Friars, was begun, and at the benediction of the first stone which was laid for the foundation there was a great assembling of bishops, prelates, clergy, and monks, with the Podestà and the captain and the priors, and all the good people of Florence, men and women, and they held a great and solemn feast. They began the building at the back, so that the old church remained for the use of the friars until the new chapels were finished.

And that year being a time of peace and prosperity, the people of Florence agreed together to rebuild the largest church, which they thought very rude in form and small in size for such a city. The foundation was laid with great solemnity on S. Mary's Day, in the month of September, by the cardinal legate of the Pope, in the presence of many bishops; and the Podestà and captain and priors and all the signoria of Florence were present. It was dedicated to the glory of God and to S. Mary, and was called Santa Maria del Fiore, though the common people still kept to its old name of Santa Reparata. The commune levied a tax of four danari in the pound on all exports, to be given to the works, and two soldi per head; and the legate and the bishops granted great indulgences to all who would give to it either help or money.

In 1298 the commune and people of Florence began upon the building of the Priors' Palace, and this was because of the disputes between the people and the nobles; for the prior being changed every two months, the city was often in violent commotion, and the priors who ruled the republic did not feel safe where they dwelt before. The houses of the Uberti, Ghibellins, and rebels having been seized and destroyed, piazzas had been made where they had stood that they might not be rebuilt. They bought also other houses of the citizens, and built the new palace there, the tower of the old Foraboschi house being raised fifty braccia higher and named the Tower of the Cow. That the palace might not be built on the ground of the rebel Uberti, the corners were cut off, but it was a great mistake not to make it square, and to place it farther from the church of San Pietro Scheraggio.

And the next year the new and third wall of the city was begun, the Bishop of Florence and all the signoria coming to the benediction of the first stone, in the presence of innumerable people. The walls were built from the tower of the canal to the gate of the Prato, which had been begun in 1284, at the same time as the other gates, but, troubles arising, it was a long time before they were carried any further.

Our city of Florence is fourteen miles two hundred and fifty braccia round, for three thousand

braccia in our measure make a mile, but there are many spaces within with orchards and gardens. There are four stone bridges over the Arno, the Rubaconte, the Old Bridge, and the bridges of Santa Trinità and Carraja, besides one which has been ordered to be made. And within the city there are a hundred churches, counting the cathedral, abbeys, and monasteries, and at almost every gate there is a church, or a monastery, or a hospital.

## CHAPTER IV

### FLORENCE

JACOPO TEDESCHI, whom the Florentines called Lapo, was employed to build many palaces all over Tuscany, but his home was in Florence, where he designed many useful works. After his death Arnolfo, to whom architecture owed nearly as much as painting did to Cimabue, was held to be the greatest architect in Tuscany. The Florentines not only followed his counsel in the building of the new walls in 1284, and set up the simple roof over the loggie and pillars of Or San Michele, where the corn was sold, but it was his opinion that made them decree, when the floods had ruined the quarter of Santa Lucia in the Via de' Bardi, that the walls should not be rebuilt in that part, and that no building should be erected there, because the water loosened the stones so that it would always be dangerous to build there. How well grounded this opinion was has been seen in our days, when many buildings and fine houses have fallen down. He was employed on the abbey and the works round San Giovanni, and in the rebuilding of Santa Croce. The Florentines were desiring

also to fortify Valdarno above the castle of San Giovanni and Castel Franco for the convenience of the merchants and the provisioning of the city, and for this Arnolfo supplied a design which pleased the Florentines so much that they made him a citizen.

After these things the Florentines, as Giovanni Villani tells us, determined to have one principal church in their city, and to make it so great and magnificent that it should be impossible for the genius and industry of man to make anything more beautiful or grand. For this never sufficiently praised Santa Maria del Fiore, Arnolfo made the model. According to his design the outside was to be covered with marble, and there were to be pilasters and columns with rich decorations of carved foliage and statues, as indeed it is now, though it was never entirely carried out. The most marvellous thing about the work was that, while he incorporated in it Santa Reparata and some other little churches and houses, he yet made the foundations of the great fabric so carefully and judiciously, and filled them in with such good material, gravel and chalk and great stones—where the piazza is now is still called “Along the Foundations”—that it has been able to bear the weight of the great cupola which Filippo di Ser Brunelleschi put upon it. For this work I say Arnolfo deserves infinite and an immortal name. He was, indeed, held in the highest esteem, and gained so entirely the confidence of the people, that nothing

was done without his advice. So the same year that the walls were finished, the gates being well in progress, he was charged with the design for the Palace of the Signoria. But he could never carry it out with all the magnificence and grandeur that he intended, for there was such a stubborn resistance made to his plans by those who were unwilling that the palace should be built on rebel ground that he could never obtain leave to put it square.

The Uberti and the Buondelmonte had been among the most powerful families in Florence, and not much inferior the Amidei and the Donati. In the Donati family was a rich widow with a very beautiful daughter, whom she intended should marry a young Buondelmonte, the head of the family. But from carelessness, or because she thought she had plenty of time, she said nothing about it to anybody, and a marriage was arranged between Messer Buondelmonte and a daughter of the Amidei family. The widow, being very vexed, planned to break off the match before the wedding, and seeing Messer Buondelmonte coming towards her house one day alone, she went downstairs with her daughter behind her; and as he passed she went to meet him, saying, "I am glad to hear you are going to be married, though I had been keeping my daughter for you," and, pushing the door back, let him look at her. The gentleman, seeing how beautiful she was—and her beauty was extraordinary—considering, too, that she was

not inferior in rank or dowry to the one to whom he was affianced, fell ardently in love, and with no regard to his pledged word, nor to the blame he should incur by breaking it, or the evils he would incur in consequence, answered, "Since you have kept her for me, I should be an ungrateful man to reject her," and without any delay married her. The thing, as soon as it was known, filled the Amidei with indignant wrath, as well as the Uberti, who were closely related to them, and a family meeting was summoned, at which it was decided that the insult could not be borne without disgrace, and that nothing but Messer Buondelmonte's death would wipe it out. And though some talked of the evils that might ensue, Mosca Lamberti answered that if one took everything into consideration nothing would ever be done, quoting the old proverb, "When a thing's done there is an end of it." Mosca, Stiatta Uberti, Lambertuccio Amidei, and Oderigo Fifanti were charged with the duty of carrying out the revenge. They met in the Amidei house on Easter morning, between the Old Bridge and San Stefano, and when Messer Buondelmonte was seen riding across the river on a white horse, thinking, perhaps, it was as easy a thing to forget an injury as to give up a family alliance, they fell upon him at the foot of a statue of Mars at the end of the bridge and killed him. This assassination divided the whole city, one part taking the side of Buondelmonte, and the other the



side of Uberti; and as these families had strong houses and towers and brave men, the matter was fought for many years without either party being able to drive out the other. The feud was allowed sometimes to drop for a time, and a truce was concluded, but never a peace, and so as new things from time to time occurred, sometimes there was a calm and then it blazed out again.

Florence was in this state when Frederick II., in his struggles with the Church for the sake of increasing his power in Tuscany, made friends with the Uberti, and helped them to drive out the Buondelmonte. Thus our city, like the rest of Italy, became divided into Guelfs and Ghibellins. Such and such families became Guelfs, and such others joined the Ghibellins; and, besides the noble families, many of the common people joined one or other side, so that almost the whole city was divided into the two factions.

After Frederick's death some men of influence in Florence sought to heal the divisions of the city by forming a free government. They therefore divided the city into six parts, and chose twelve citizens, two for each division, to govern it. These they called Ancients (*Anziani*), and part were to be elected every year. And to put an end to the quarrels which arise from lawsuits, they appointed two foreign judges, the one called the *Capitano* and the other the *Podestà*, who were to try cases civil or criminal. And because there is no stable

order where there is no force to support it, they formed an army, twenty companies in the city and seventy-six in the country parts, under which all the youth should be enrolled, and it was ordered that every one should appear ready armed under his banner whenever he was summoned either by the captain or the Anziani. The standards varied according to the kind of arms, for the archers had different from the men who bore shields; and every year at Whitsuntide new colours were given with great ceremony and new captains assigned to each company. And for the chief standard, round which every one was to rally when they were worsted in the conflict, and from whence they could issue forth again to renew the conflict, they made a great car which was to be drawn by two oxen with red caparisons, and on the car was a great standard red and white. When the army was drawn up they brought the car into the market place, and solemnly entrusted it to the leaders. They had also a bell named Martinella, and this bell was to be sounded continually a month before the army set out, that the enemy might have time to prepare, for in those days men were so brave and acted so generously that whereas to-day it would be considered prudent and even noble to attack an enemy unprepared, then it was considered blameworthy and treacherous. This bell also was taken with them on their march, and the watches and other movements were regulated by it.

With such a military and civil constitution the Florentines had laid the foundation of their liberty. Nor is it easy to express how much power and influence Florence acquired by it. Not only did she become the head of Tuscany, but she was also counted among the chief cities of Italy, and she might have risen to any height if new and frequent divisions had not affected her. But the Guelfs, taking the side of the Church, and having more power in the city, the Ghibellins planned to destroy Florence, and would have carried out their resolution if Farinata degli Uberti had not refused his assent at that time. They divided all the city into Arts, and appointed a magistrate over each Art. Each Art was to have its own banner, under which they were to assemble in arms when the city had need of them. The Arts were at first twelve in number, seven greater and five lesser, but the lesser grew to be fourteen, so that they became, as they are now, twenty-one.

And they again set in order the government of their city, electing twelve men to act as magistrates for two months. They were not called Anziani, but Buonomini, and there was to be besides a council of eighty citizens, which they called the Credenza, and a lower one of one hundred and eighty of the people—thirty from each division were elected—who with the Credenza and the twelve Buonomini formed the General Council. They formed another council of one hundred and twenty

citizens, some nobles, and some of the people, to carry out that which had been deliberated upon in the other councils, and to distribute the offices of the Republic.

But in a few years the Florentines resolved upon a new form of government. The Arts, since they had been given their magistrates and their banners, had grown in reputation. They therefore resolved that, instead of the fourteen, they would appoint three Priors who should be in office for two months; and they might be nobles or common people, as long as they were merchants or belonged to an Art. Afterwards the chief rule was given to six men, that each division might have one; and this number was kept until the city was divided into quarters, and the number of the Priors was raised to eight. This caused the ruin of the nobles in time, because from various accidental causes they were excluded by the people; the nobles consenting at first, because they were not united and were anxious to deprive each other of power, and so lost all. A palace was set apart for these magistrates where they lived. At first they were called simply Priors, but soon for the sake of greater dignity the name of Lords was added. And the city, growing in riches and population, it seemed necessary to enlarge the walls; and so the circuit was made what it is now, for at first the diameter had been only the space from the Old Bridge to San Lorenzo.

For the greater dignity and security of the government, in 1298, the Palace of the Signoria was founded, and the piazza made where the houses of the Uberti had been. The public prisons also were begun at this time. The city was never in a more prosperous state than at this time—great in population, riches, and reputation.

The citizens who were skilled in arms amounted to thirty thousand, and from the country districts seventy thousand could be raised. All Tuscany followed her lead—part being subject to her and part friendly; and although there was irritation and suspicion between the nobles and the people, no bad result followed, but they lived together in peace.

But in the city of Pistoja there arose a mortal feud within the family of the Cancellieri which divided the whole city. And because the Cancellieri were descended from Messer Cancelliere, who had had two wives, one of whom was named Bianca, the one party was named after her, Bianca, and the other, for the sake of the contrast, Nera. And this dispute was brought to Florence, the Neri being supported by the head of the Donati, and the Bianchi by the Cerchi, of old their enemies. The quarrel thus brought from Pistoja threatened to break out into open conflict, so that the Priors and the good citizens had recourse to the Pope, and prayed him to interfere to suppress it. But fighting beginning in the street, the city

divided the common people as well as the nobles, and took the names of Bianchi and Neri. Nor was it only in the city, but all the country districts were divided, and it was feared the Ghibellins in the ruin of the city would lift up their heads again. Then they sent again to Pope Boniface, and prayed him to find a remedy if he would not have a city which had been always the shield of the Church either ruined or become a Ghibellin city. He sent, therefore, his legate to Florence, Matteo d'Aequasparta Cardinal Portuese, but he found the Bianchi, who were the stronger and therefore feared less, hard to move; so growing angry he left Florence, putting it under an interdict, so that it was in a worse condition than before he came.

The city then being in arms, and nothing but tumults to be expected, it was proposed by the Neri to ask the Pope to send a man of royal blood altogether to remodel the government. The Priors hearing of this thought it a conspiracy against the freedom of the city, and the Signoria, among whom was Dante, took courage and called the people to arms, many from the country joining, and arrested the heads of the parties and made them lay down their arms. Nevertheless the Pope, at the petition of the exiled Florentines, sent Charles of Valois, and he was given power to dispose of the city according to his pleasure; but it being found that his coming had rather helped to disunite than



to unite the Florentines, the Pope sent again the Cardinal Matteo d'Aequasparta, but in vain, for he left the city as before, in anger, after having laid it under an interdict.

Florence remained discontented and full of disturbances and quarrels, in which many of the Bianca party, among whom was Dante, were exiled and suffered the confiscation of their goods and the destruction of their houses, and Charles, leaving Florence, went to carry out his enterprise in Sicily, in which he showed himself no wiser nor better than he had at Florence.

When Arnolfo died he had not only laid the foundations of Santa Maria del Fiore but carried the building so far that the three principal tribunes of it now under the cupola had been vaulted ; and he well deserved that his name should be remembered in the verses cut in the marble on the side of the church over against the campanile. His portrait is to be seen in Santa Croce by the hand of Giotto on the side of the larger chapel, where the friars are lamenting the death of S. Francis, one of two men who are talking together. And a picture of the church of Santa Maria del Fiore by Simon Sanese is in Santa Maria Novella drawn from Arnolfo's model, which shows that he had meant to begin the vaulting immediately upon the first cornice ; but Filippo di Ser Brunelleschi, to take away the weight and make it more graceful, added all the height up to the vaulting as it is now.





*Giotto*

*Neurdein*

ST. FRANCIS RECEIVES THE STIGMATA  
(*Louvre*)



It was in the year 1334, on the 9th of July, that Giotto began upon the campanile of Santa Maria del Fiore. The foundations having been dug out twenty braccia deep within, a platform of strong stones was laid, and upon it a good cement raising it twelve braccia, and the remaining eight were built up as a wall. The bishop of the city laid the first stone solemnly in the presence of all the clergy and all the magistrates. Continuing the work in the German style then in use, Giotto designed the scheme of the ornament and showed on the model the colours, white, black, and red, as he intended the stones and the decorations to be placed. And if what Lorenzo di Cione Ghiberti wrote was true, as I hold it to be, Giotto not only made the model of this campanile, but also carried out part of the sculpture. Lorenzo affirms that he had seen models of reliefs from the hand of Giotto, and particularly those for this work. The campanile, according to this model, was to have ended in a point or square pyramid fifty braccia higher than it is now, but that, being a German thing and old fashioned, the modern artists have never advised that it should be done, but thought it better as it is.

For this work Giotto was not only made a citizen of Florence, but had a pension of a hundred florins a year, which was a great deal for that time, and was made head of the works in the cathedral, in which post he was succeeded by Taddeo Gaddi, for he did not live to see it finished. He rendered

up his soul to God in the year 1336, and as he had been as good a Christian as he was an excellent painter, he died to the great regret of all his fellow-citizens, and of all who had known him or even heard of him, and was buried with honour. He was beloved by good men of all professions, for besides being esteemed by Dante he was highly honoured by Petrarch, both the man himself and his works; for we read in his will that he left to Francesco da Carrara, the lord of Padua, among some other things held by him in the highest veneration, a picture from the hand of Giotto of Our Lady, as a thing very rare and most admired by him—"Opus Jocti pictoris egregii, quæ mihi ab amico meo Michaële Vannis de Florentia missa est, in cujus pulchritudinem ignorantes non intelligunt, magistri autem artis stupent." He was buried in Santa Maria del Fiore on the left side as you enter the church, where there is a slab of white marble in memory of him.

Andrea Pisano was working as a sculptor in the time of Giotto, and made such improvement in the art that he was considered the best man that the Tuscans had had up to that time, especially in the art of casting bronze. Fortune favoured him in one thing: as he studied in Pisa he had before him the ancient sculptures round the cathedral and in the Campo Santo. They shed much light on his studies, and gave him help, which was wanting to Giotto, for ancient paintings have not

been preserved as the sculptures have. Having, when quite young, made some marble statues for Santa Maria a Ponte, his name became known, so that he was earnestly implored to come and work at Florence on Santa Maria del Fiore, where they had begun upon the façade with the three doors, and were finding a great want of masters to carry out Giotto's designs. Andrea therefore entered their service, and, as the Florentines were desiring at that time to gain the favour and friendship of Pope Boniface VIII., they desired him before anything else to make in marble a statue of that pontiff. He set to work, and did not rest until he had completed the figure of the Pope and a S. Peter and a S. Paul, and had put him between them : the three figures were placed where they are still on the façade. Andrea made the Prophets for the door in the middle, and it being manifest how greatly he had improved the art of sculpture, and how far he surpassed all those who had worked on the building before, it was resolved that all works of importance should be given to him and not to others. Later, having shown himself also an excellent worker in bronze, he was set to make one of the gates of San Giovanni, for which Giotto had given a very fine design. It was given to him rather, I would say, to finish, as more skilled and more judicious, and altogether better than those who had worked upon it before. He determined to spare no pains or time in a work

of such importance, and fate was so propitious in a time when they did not know the secrets of the art as they do now, that he brought it to perfection. In this gate he represented in bas-relief the life of S. John the Baptist from his birth to his death. And although many think that the design is not sufficiently good, and that his art was not great enough for such a subject, Andrea none the less deserves the greatest praise, being the first to carry out such a work, and therefore the cause that others after him did more beautiful and difficult work in the other two gates. This one was placed in the middle door, and remained there until Lorenzo Ghiberti made the one that is there at present, when it was moved and put behind in the Misericordia. I must mention that Andrea was helped by his son Nino, who was a better master than he, and that it was finished in the year 1339, that is, not only polished and cleaned, but also gilded in the fire.

## CHAPTER V

### THE DUKE OF ATHENS

WHEN Uguccione della Faggiuola became lord of Pisa and afterwards of Lucca, he did great damage to his neighbours, and among them to the Florentines. They therefore sent to King Robert of Naples, and prayed him to send his brother Piero to command their army, and they put themselves under his rule for some years. During this time the government of Lucca and Pisa was taken from Uguccione, and Castruccio Castracani, a citizen of Lucca, became its lord, and, being a fierce young man, was very soon made the leader of the Ghibellins in Tuscany. The rule of King Robert had by this time come to an end, and the city was master of itself. The Florentines therefore raised an army against Castruccio, but they were forced to put themselves under the rule of Charles, Duke of Calabria, on condition that he would come to their defence. He, being engaged in the Sicilian war, sent in his place Gualtieri, Duke of Athens, a Frenchman by race. He took possession of the city, and appointed the magistrates at his pleasure ; but his bearing was modest, and, in fact, so con-



trary to his nature, that every one was pleased with him. After this the town remained quiet for many years until a contest arose with Pisa for Lucca, and the Florentines lost possession of it.

As it fell out, Gualtieri, Duke of Athens, came to Florence at the moment of the loss of Lucca. It was thought, therefore, that the duke could defend them, and they elected him captain of their forces. The nobles, who were very discontented, thought the only way to tame a people who had broken their power was to bring them under the authority of a lord. They secretly therefore conferred with him, and persuaded him to seize the lordship of the city. Some families of the people took the same side, being crippled with debt, and hoping to pay with the property of others what they could not pay with their own, and to liberate themselves from the slavery of debt by enslaving their country. Their suggestions fired the ambitious mind of the duke with the desire of ruling, and to gain himself a reputation for severe justice, and so gain favour with the people, he proceeded against those who had managed the war with Lucca, put to death Giovanni de' Medici, Naddo Rucellai, and Guglielmo Altoviti, and punished many with exile or fines. These acts frightened the moderate citizens, but pleased the nobles and the common people, and whenever he passed in the street he was saluted with praise of his frankness, and urged to punish the offenders.

The power of the magistrates diminished, and the duke's reputation increased, and fear of him became very great, so that every one to prove himself friendly to the duke had his arms painted over his house, and there was nothing left for him to obtain but the title of Prince. It seemed as if he could do anything safely, so he gave the rulers of the city to understand that he judged it would be for the good of the city that they should give him the lordship. The signoria, foreseeing the ruin of the city, were much disturbed at the demand, and, though they recognised their danger, none the less, from their duty to their country, they refused. The duke, to make a great profession of religion, had chosen to live in the monastery of the Minor Friars at Santa Croce, and he now summoned all the people to meet him the next day in the piazza of Santa Croce. The proclamation alarmed greatly all the lords and the citizens who were lovers of their city and of their liberty; but, knowing the power of the duke, they could think of no way of helping themselves but to try and move him by their prayers. Some of the lords therefore went to find him, and one of them represented to him that he did not understand the burden he was taking upon himself, pointing out that the city had always been free, for the lordship of the King of Naples had been an alliance rather than submission, and that he would need a great force to keep in subjection such a city; that the people in whom

he was confiding were ready to change at the least thing, so that in a short time he might have the whole city hostile to him. These words did not move the duke in the slightest degree. He only answered that he did not mean to take away liberty from the city, but rather to restore it, for a dis-united city was in slavery and a united one free; that he was taking up the burden not from ambition, but moved by the prayers of many of the citizens. The lords then agreed, seeing they could do no good, that the people should assemble on the piazza the next day, and that they would give the duke for a year the authority on the same conditions that they had given it to the Duke of Calabria.

It was the 8th of September 1342 that the duke, accompanied by Giovanni della Tosa and all his companions, and many of the citizens, came into the piazza, and, with the signoria, ascended the "ringhiera," as the Florentines call the steps before the Palace of the Signoria. The agreement between the signoria and the duke was read to the people, and when they came to the part where it stated that the rule was given to the duke for a year, there was a shout through all the crowd "For life!" And when Francesco Rustichelli, one of the signoria, rose and tried to quiet the people, he was interrupted by their clamour. So the duke was elected lord by the free voice of the people, not for a year but for perpetuity, and the crowd carried

him round the piazza, shouting his name. The signoria returned to their houses, the palace was seized by the duke's followers, the standard torn down, and the duke's banner raised instead.

The duke, having acquired the lordship, forbade any one to bear arms; and, to defend himself better against those in the city, made friends with those outside. He made peace with the Pisans, though he had been chosen for the express purpose of carrying on the war against them, raised the taxes and created new ones, and took all authority from the signoria. The burdens he laid upon the people were very heavy, and his judgments most unjust, and the strict humanity that he had pretended was soon changed into pride and cruelty. Many of the chief citizens of all orders were condemned to death and to tortures of new invention, and he set up six lieutenants for the country districts who beat and spoiled the peasants.

When the story of the new lordship spread, it brought many of the French race to the place, and he received them as those in whom he could trust, so that Florence became not only subject to French rule, but French in habits and customs. The citizens began to be filled with indignation, seeing the state ruined, their laws annulled, all virtuous manner of living corrupted, and modesty and propriety vanished from the city. Their anger and hatred increased to such a degree that not only the Florentines (who, though they cannot preserve

their liberty, yet cannot endure slavery), but any people would have been roused to fight for their liberty, and many of the citizens determined either to lose their lives or to win back their freedom. Three sorts of citizens made three conspiracies: the nobles, the middle classes, and the artisans. Messer Agnolo Acciaiuoli was the Archbishop of Florence, and had supported the duke by his preaching; but when he saw his tyranny, he thought he had been guilty of deceiving his native place, and he therefore made himself the head of the strongest conspiracy, while Messer Manno and Corso Donati were heads of another, and Antonio Adimari of a third. They thought of many occasions when they could fall upon him and kill him; but, while they were considering, Messer Francesco Brunelleschi hearing of it, either from fear of his own safety, or from hatred to some other people, revealed it to the duke. The duke, when he heard the numbers and the quality of the conspirators, was himself frightened. Antonio Adimari fell into his power, and he was advised by Messer Francesco Brunelleschi and Ugucione Buondelmonte to ride through the land and put to death all he could capture; but he thought he had not force enough to oppose so many enemies. He took therefore another course, and made a list of three hundred citizens, and requested them to come to him as he needed their advice, designing, when they were assembled, to dispose of them by

death or imprisonment. The capture of Adimari had, however, frightened people; they refused to obey the summons, and the three companies of conspirators combined, and determined on the next day, the 26th of July 1343, to raise a tumult in the Old Market, and call the people to fight for their liberty.

The next day therefore, as the clock struck nine, they took up arms, and the people, at the cry of "Liberty," armed themselves, and assembled under the banner of the people, which the conspirators had secretly prepared.

All the heads of the families, nobles and commoners, were there, and swore to defend themselves and kill the duke; except the Buondelmonte and Cavalcante, and the four families who had been most eager to make him lord, and they, with some of the lowest of the people, assembled to help the duke. The duke fortified the palace, and his followers came from all sides on horseback. Many were killed on the way, but about three hundred reached the piazza. The duke doubted whether to sally out or to defend the palace. The struggle meanwhile between the people and the duke's followers in the piazza became fiercer, but, although he helped his people from the palace, they were overcome; some fell into the enemy's hands, some escaped into the palace. The duke, seeing he had lost the piazza, and that the whole city was against him, and that



he had no hope of help, tried to win the people round by acts of grace. He sent for the prisoners and set them free with loving words, and Antonio Adimari, though with secret vexation, he made a knight; he took down his own banner and set up the banner of the people; all which things, being done too late, helped him little. He sat within the palace therefore considering that everything was lost, and that he must die in a few days either by the sword or by hunger.

The people meanwhile assembled in Santa Reparata to prepare a form of government. They elected fourteen citizens, half noble and half commoners, and gave them power, in conjunction with the bishop, to put the state in order; and six men also who were to have the power of the Podestà until he should be chosen. Some men of Siena tried to mediate between the duke and the people, but they refused to listen to any terms of accommodation until Messer Guglielmo d'Ascesi and his son, together with Messer Ceritieri Visdomini, were given up to them. The duke was not willing to consent to this, but his men who were shut up with him forced him to yield. Feeling is more intensely bitter when one is winning back one's liberty than when one is only defending it. Messer Guglielmo and his son were sent into the midst of thousands of his enemies; and the son was not yet eighteen years old, but yet his tender age, his beauty and his innocence, could not save



him from the fury of the multitude ; those who could not wound him while alive struck him as he lay dead, and were not even satisfied with piercing him with their swords, but tore his body with their hands and their teeth. The mad fury that possessed them was fortunate for Messer Ceritieri, for they forgot him, and he was got away safe by his friends and relations in the night. The people having satisfied their vengeance concluded an agreement with the duke ; they agreed to let him and his people depart unhurt, and he was to renounce all rights over Florence and to ratify this when he had reached Casentino. He left Florence on the 6th of August, accompanied by many citizens, and very unwillingly ratified his renunciation at Casentino ; he would indeed have broken his faith, if Count Simone had not threatened to take him back to Florence.

These events occurring in Florence suggested to all the districts subject to Florence to claim their liberty ; and Arezzo, Castiglione Pistoja, Volterra, Colle, San Gimignano rebelled ; so that Florence at one stroke lost her tyrant and her dominion. The fourteen with the bishop decided that it would be better to agree to grant them their liberty than to make war against them. They therefore sent ambassadors to Arezzo to renounce their rights and to agree to make an alliance with the inhabitants, and they told the other places, that if they would be friends with them they would give them

their freedom. This decision ended most happily, for after a few years Arezzo returned to its allegiance to Florence, and the other cities in a very few months.

This tyrant of Florence had, during his rule, made much use of Andrea Pisano. He employed him to enlarge the piazza and fortify his palace, and he had all the lower windows on the ground floor barred with square bars of great strength. The duke also added behind San Pietro Scheraggio the rough stone walls by the side of the palace, making it larger ; and in the thickness of the wall he made a secret staircase to go up and down by privately ; and in this side he made a great door and put his arms above it, all with design and advice of Andrea, and though these arms were scraped off by the Twelve, who were careful to wipe out every memorial of the duke, there still remains on the square shield the form of the lion rampant with two tails, as any one can see who looks at it attentively. For the Duke Andrea also made many towers round the walls of the city, and carried to a successful termination the gate of San Friano and the walls of the front of all the gates of the city and the smaller gates for the convenience of the people. The duke intended to make a fortress on the San Giorgio side, and Andrea made a model for it, but it was never carried out, for the duke was driven out in the year 1343. The desire of the duke to turn the palace into a strong castle was indeed carried out to

a great extent, for great additions were made to it, the houses of the Filipetri, the towers and houses of the Amidei and Mancini, and of the Bellalberti, being included within its wall. The building being so great with thick walls and barbicans, they had not the materials ready ; but the Old Bridge was in process of repair, a necessary work which should have been carried out with the utmost speed, and they made use of the stones and wood that had been prepared for that, without any scruple. Taddeo Gaddi was not in such matters inferior to Andrea Pisano, but being a Florentine the duke would not employ him for this purpose, but preferred Andrea. This Duke Gualtieri wished to pull down Santa Cecilia that the Strada Romana and the Mercato Nuovo might be seen from the palace, and also San Pietro Scheraggio for his convenience, but he could not obtain the Pope's leave.

Taddeo Gaddi was in the employment of the city on the works of Or San Michele rebuilding the pillars of the loggie, and walling them with well-cut stones where there had been before only brick, without, however, altering Arnolfo's design ; over the loggie he made a palace for the storing of the grain belonging to the people and city of Florence. The Art of the Porta Santa Maria, which had the charge of the work, ordered that a tax should be paid by the corn market for the expense. But what was better, it was very wisely ordered that each one of the Arts of Florence should make one

of the pillars and place the Patron Saint of it in a niche, and that every year, on the feast day of the saint, the Consuls of the Art should go thither and make an offering and stand holding their banner all the day. The offerings to Our Lady, however, were for the poor and needy.

In the year 1333 the great deluge of water had washed away the banks of the Rubaconte Bridge, ruined the Castle Altafronte, and left nothing of the Old Bridge but the two piles in the middle, and the Santa Trinità bridge was altogether ruined except one pile which was left in a shattered condition, and half the bridge at the Carraja breaking the sluices at Ognissanti. Those, therefore, who were ruling the city, considered that those who lived on the opposite side of the Arno could not be left in such discomfort as to have to cross in boats, so they sent for Taddeo Gaddi and made him make a model and design for the Old Bridge, bidding him make it as good and fine as possible. So he, sparing no pains or expense, rebuilt it with such strength and solidity and such magnificent arches with chiselled stone that it supports twenty-two shops on each side, forty-four in all, to the great profit of the city, which draws from it an income of eight hundred florins a year. The length of the arches, from one side to the other, was thirty-two braccia, and the street in the middle sixteen, and each of the shops eight. For this work, which cost sixty thousand florins of gold,

Taddeo deserved infinite praise not only at the time, but still more at this day. For not considering other floods, it was not shaken in the great deluge of the 13th of September 1557, which broke down the bridge of the Santa Trinità, two arches of the Carraja and a great part of the Rubaconte, and did a great deal of other notable damage. And indeed, there was no one of any judgment who was not astounded to observe that the Old Bridge at such a narrow part bore all the force of the water, the driftwood, and ruins brought down from above with such firmness and immovableness.

In 1355 the city of Florence had bought some houses near the palace to enlarge the piazza, and make a place where the citizens could go in rainy weather and in winter. They had many designs made for a magnificent and very large loggia to be made for this purpose near the palace, and also for the mints where the money is coined. After his painting in Santa Croce, Orgagna had set himself earnestly to work in marble, and afterwards with still greater zeal to the study of architecture, to such effect that among all these designs by the best masters of the city Orgagna's was the one most generally approved, as the largest, most beautiful, and most magnificent of all. The loggia therefore was begun under his direction on the foundations laid in the time of the Duke of Athens, and the works carried on with carefully

hewn stone, well worked. And, what was new at that time, the arches were not made as was usual then, but in a new admired style with half circles, in a very graceful and beautiful style carried to completion under Andrea's orders in a short time. And if they had thought of putting it by San Romolo and turning it towards the north (which perhaps they could not do if it were to be convenient for the palace gate), it would have been as useful a building to the city as it is beautiful, whereas now no one can stop there in winter for the force of the wind.

After this, the company of Or San Michele finding their funds mounting up because of the alms and property given to that Madonna during the pestilence of 1348, resolved to build a chapel or tabernacle round her, and to employ for it not only marble and other valuable stones richly carved, but also mosaic and bronze ornaments, so that it should surpass any other work ever made to that day. The charge of it being given to Orgagna as the best man of the time, he made a great many designs for it until one of them pleased the rulers, and they desired him to execute it, leaving the whole matter entirely to his judgment.

There were many good artists in sculpture and architecture in his time, whose names we do not know, but whose works we see. There is the monastery of the Certosa, built at the expense of the noble family of the Acciaiuoli, and particularly



of Messer Niccola, the grand seneschal of the King of Naples. On his tomb he is represented, and his father and a sister are excellently portrayed in marble with others of his family. After Andrea's death, his brother Jacopo was employed to build the towers and gate of San Piero Gattolini; and it is said that the four stone lions gilded, which were put on the four corners of the palace, are from his hand. People found much fault with them as being in an absurd place, and said they should have been made of bronze hollow, and gilded when they were in their places, and thus made less heavy and more durable.

When the people drove out the Duke of Athens on the 2nd of July 1343, and liberty and self-government were restored to the Florentines, the Twelve Reformers of the state, among whom Agnolo Acciaiuoli, then the greatest citizen, was prominent, determined to have a picture of the duke and his chief followers, Messer Ceritieri Visdomini, Messer Mediadusse, and Messer Ranieri di San Gemignano, with the cap of justice on their heads, painted on the walls of the Podestà's Palace. Round the head of the duke were represented wild beasts to signify his special characteristics, and one of his counsellors was painted as a traitor to his country, holding the Priors' Palace in his hand and presenting it to him. Beneath them were their arms and insignia, with inscriptions which can scarcely be read now. The picture, however, was



distinguished by its good drawing and careful execution, and pleased everybody.

The artist was Tommaso di Stefano, surnamed Giotto. He had learned the rudiments of his art from his father, but when still quite young he determined to devote himself to the study of Giotto's works. This he did with such assiduity that he earned the name of Giotto, which he never lost, and many people have from it supposed, but quite erroneously, that he was the son of Giotto, because, as it was said, the spirit of Giotto dwelt in him. They say he was a melancholy person and fond of solitude, but a passionate student of art, qualities which show themselves in a picture painted on a panel in tempera in the church of San Romeo. It represents the dead Christ with the Maries and Nicodemus, and other figures, who are represented weeping over their Lord with the tenderest affection and the bitterest grief, beating their breasts and wringing their hands. It is wonderful not that he in his mind attained to such a high imagination, but that he should be able to express it so well with his pencil. The work is worthy of praise, not only for the subject and design, but for the skill which he has shown in the weeping faces, where, though the brows and eyes and mouth are all distorted with grief, yet the beauty is not destroyed. Giotto executed the picture with so much pains and care, because he desired more fame and glory than reward and excessive gain. And

as he did not aim at gaining great riches, so he did not think much of the comforts of life, but, living poorly, sought to satisfy others rather than himself. But he took little care of his health and worked too hard, and therefore died of consumption at the age of thirty-two.

It was in 1350 that the Company and Fraternity of Painters was formed ; for the masters then living, both those who followed the old Greek manner and those who followed Cimabue's new one, found themselves very numerous, and, considering that the arts of design had had their new birth in Tuscany, or rather in Florence itself, founded this Company under the name and protection of S. Luke the Evangelist. The object of the society was first to give praise and thanks to God, then to meet together and consult one another about anything necessary or important to mind or body, which is a custom still practised by many Arts in Florence, but was more common in old times. Their first oratory was the larger chapel of the hospital of Santa Maria Nuova, which was granted them by the Portinari family. The Company was ruled by six men, with the title of captains, and there were besides two counsellors and two chamberlains, as the old book of the Company tells us. The first chapter begins thus :—

“ These rules and ordinances were made and arranged by good and discreet men belonging to

the Art of the Painters of Florence; Captains: Lapo Gucci, painter; Vanni Cinuzzi, painter; Corsino Bonaiuti, painter; Pasquino Cenni, painter. Counsellors to the Company: Segna d'Antignano, painter; Bernardo Daddi, painter; Jacopo di Casentino, painter; Counsellor Gherardi, painter. Chamberlains to the Company: Domenico Pucci, Piero Giovanni."

The Company being thus instituted, the captains agreed with the rest that Jacopo di Casentino should make a picture for their chapel, representing Saint Luke painting the portrait of Our Lady; and in the predella are all the men of the Company on one side, and all the ladies on the other. From that time the Company continued sometimes meeting regularly, and sometimes neglecting to meet until it was reorganised under new regulations by the illustrious Duke Cosimo.

In the principal chapel of Santa Lucia in the Vià de' Bardi, there are some pictures of the life of the saint which were painted for Niccolò da Uzzano, in which he appears among some other citizens of Florence. He built his palace near the church, and made a magnificent beginning of a sapienza or studio between the convent of the Servites and that of San Marco, where the lions are now. The work was indeed most praiseworthy, and one more to be expected from a generous prince than from a private citizen. It was, however, never com-

pleted, for the money which Niccolò left for the building and support of the studio was employed by the Florentines in wars and other purposes; and although fortune could never obscure the memory of the magnanimous Niccolò da Uzzano, yet that this work was not finished was no doubt a great injury to the public. Whoever desires to leave an honourable memory of himself in such a manner should carry out his intentions whilst alive, and not trust to the faithfulness of his heirs, because such a matter left to succeeding generations is seldom carried out perfectly.

Not long after, Ser Michele da Fruosino being the governor of the hospital of Santa Maria Nuova, the founder of which was Folco Portinari (father of Dante's Beatrice), decided that, as the hospital had grown rich, the church dedicated to S. Egidio, which belonged to it outside Florence, ought to be enlarged. So he began the new church on the 8th of September 1418, and it was finished in a year, and consecrated by Pope Martin V. at the request of Ser Michele, the eighth governor.

While the Florentines were still busy in the war with Lucca, they did not fail to think of their city and to adorn it with buildings. Pope Eugenius IV. being again in Florence, it seemed to the Florentines a fit opportunity for the consecration of their cathedral church, Santa Reparata. The building had been begun long before, and

had now proceeded so far that it was possible to celebrate divine service in it. The Pope gladly consented to perform the ceremony, and they erected a scaffold from Santa Maria Novella, where the Pope was sojourning, to the new cathedral that he was to consecrate, four braccia wide and two high, covered with the richest cloth, along which the Pope passed with his court, accompanied by the magistrates and some chosen citizens; while all the city was in the streets and in the houses to see the great spectacle. The usual ceremonies being performed, the Pope knighted Giuliano Davanzati, the Gonfaloniere of Justice, as a mark of his affection, and the signoria, not to be behind the Pope, bestowed upon him the governorship of Pisa.

There were at that time such differences between the Greek and Roman Churches that divine service could not be performed in union. At the Council of Basle it had been resolved to try and bring about an agreement; and although it was very difficult to the majesty of the Greek Emperor and the pride of his bishops to yield to the Roman pontiff, yet, being very much pressed by the Turks, and feeling that they could not defend themselves, they decided to yield that they might be able to ask for assistance. So the Greek Emperor and the Patriarch and the other bishops and the Greek princes came to Venice, but the plague frightening them away from there, it was decided that they

should settle the differences at Florence. The Greek and Roman prelates therefore met together in the cathedral, and after many long disputations the Greeks yielded, and came to terms with the Church and the Roman pontiff.

## CHAPTER VI

### VENICE AND S. MARK

WHEN Attila, the King of the Huns, attacked Aquileia, the inhabitants, after having defended themselves a long time, in despair took refuge on some uninhabited islands in the Adriatic, carrying with them as much of their property as they could. The Paduans also, seeing the same danger approaching them, and fearing that as soon as he had taken Aquileia he would fall upon them, took their most valuable goods to a place in the same sea called Rivo Alto, the High Bank, and sent their women and children and old people there, while their young men stayed to defend Padua. And the people of Monselice, and the inhabitants of the hills round, moved by the same fear, fled to the rocks. And when Aquileia was taken, and Attila had destroyed Padua, Monselice, Vicenza, and Verona, the Paduans and the people of the province which had been called Venetia, settled on the marsh land round the Rivo Alto. So, constrained by necessity, they left their pleasant fertile lands, and dwelt in barren places where every good thing was wanting. But, in a very short time,



they made these places not only habitable, but delightful, and, having formed their laws and ordinances, lived securely and happily, and grew in reputation and strength. And, as necessity had obliged them to live in the sea, they were forced to consider how they could live honourably; therefore, travelling in ships all over the world, they filled their city with merchandise of all kinds, which other people would need, and the place became the meeting-place of all. For many years they thought of no conquests or dominion except such as would make their commerce more easy, and so acquired ports in Greece and Syria; and in the journeys that the French made into Asia they provided the ships for them, and were given in payment the Isle of Candia. Their name at sea grew great and terrible, and they were in high esteem in Italy, so that they became arbiters in all disputes; and in time they occupied Padua, Vicenza, Treviso, and later, Verona, Bergamo, and Brescia, and many cities in the kingdom and in Romagna, and the passion for dominion took hold of them.

Angelus Particiatus was the first of the Doges to place his ducal seat on the Rialto. Some say that his surname was Badoarius, and that from him are descended the Badoarii. Other still more diligent inquirers say that the Particiati were one of the Heraclian families who had settled in the Rialto, which I can believe more easily, because it seems proved by the fact that, among the public

works of administration, I find the rebuilding of Heraclea, afterwards called the New City. People took refuge in the Rialto during the Gallic war, as, at that time, the remaining islands were unoccupied, and the place was so crowded that the deaths were incredibly frequent. It was arranged, therefore, that sixty little islands which were very near should be connected by bridges. But because the Rialto was the chief place of concourse, and the nature of the spot was suitable, it was decided that the seat of the chief magistrate should be fixed in the Rialto. This being decreed, the Doge himself chose the place in which the ducal palace should be built. But I know not whether I dare affirm that Particiatus was the founder of the ducal palace as it is now, and that such a great and remarkable work is of such great age. The magnificently worked pillars and other stones—where they could have been obtained at that time, when the Venetian revenues were so small, I do not see; but whether this work was built first by Particiatus, or later (as I rather believe), and as most chroniclers affirm, the splendour and greatness of it require that I should not pass it over in silence.

In the year 828, the affairs of Venice, which were sufficiently prosperous, received, in the public opinion, a great addition. The body of the blessed S. Mark was brought from Alexandria, and I will explain shortly how this came to pass. The king

of that place was building for himself a sumptuous house, and for that purpose had commanded costly stones to be obtained from old temples and other buildings, public and private. It seemed that they were about to lay profane hands even on the tomb of S. Mark, which was constructed in a great part of such materials, and Stauracius, a monk, and Theodorus, a priest, both Greeks by race, who were not only working there, but serving as ministers of that sacred building, feared that the place would be destroyed. At that moment, most opportunely, Bonus Medoacensis and Rusticus Torcellanus were driven into Alexandria by the force of the winds, against the public decree, with ten ships. When they came to the place and learned the cause of the Christians' anxiety—when they heard that they were expecting the destruction of the temple, they began to tempt them with great promises, saying that, if they would deliver the body of S. Mark to them they would be treated with the greatest honour by the Venetians everywhere. At first they rejected the suggestion, thinking it sacrilege to move the holy body from its resting-place; but providentially it happened that, while they were talking about the matter, a certain man who was employed in the business of getting these stones came up and carried off some stones which he considered suitable for the building, and not without damage to the sanctuary. The guardians of it were greatly moved by the sight, and the

Venetians renewed their entreaties more earnestly when it appeared that the building, which consisted almost entirely of noble materials, would be destroyed. Lest, however, the inhabitants, who had no little veneration for the name of the saint, because of the miracles that were worked in the sacred building, should discover the matter, they secretly undid part of the cloak in which the body had been wrapped, leaving the seals unbroken, and put the body of S. Claudia in its place. It is said that so sweet an odour arose in the building that a great number of people ran to the place, and the thing might have been easily discovered if they had not seen the cloak with the seals unbroken. It was agreed that there must be no delay in carrying away the body to the ships, and they are said to have thought of a new way of eluding the people, the account of which we should hardly have believed if in the golden church of S. Mark it were not represented in a series of pictures. Lest therefore by some one's rashness, for people are often very imprudent when travelling, the great crime that they had committed should be discovered, the sacred burden was put into a basket and hidden with grass, and upon it was placed some swine flesh, from which those people, by an old custom, rigorously abstain, according to the old saying of Augustus that he would rather be Herod's pig than his son. Those therefore who had the management of the business on meeting

anybody cried out, as they had been advised to do, "*Ganzir*," which, among those barbarians, signifies "pork," and so they came to the ships safely, and the body wrapped in a sail was received in the sight of all. Long before the city was founded, S. Mark, sailing to Aquileia, was carried by chance to the very place, and was informed by a voice from heaven when he came to a land which seemed to be almost entirely desolate, that it would be the place where his bones would rest.

The whole city went out to meet the ships with mutual congratulations, singing and dancing, and with pious vows and prayers, entreating the saint to come to his city to bless it, to suffer his body to remain there in perpetuity in a spot which should be dedicated to him for his resting-place. Thus the whole multitude, pouring out to meet him, with no distinction of rank, sex, or age, by the Olivolenian Gate, the clergy leading with hymns and sacred song and sweet odours, the city reverently received this most certain pledge of Venetian prosperity, and bore it to a holy chapel, at that time within the walls of the palace.

The city was then growing not only in strength but in religious feeling, and the government of Giustiniano was prosperous, but, alas! the happier it was, the shorter it was, for, as concerns all human things, there is no happiness that endures long. For not long after he had brought the body of S. Mark into his chapel—by the fatal necessity of all human

things—he died when he had only been at the head of the Republic for about two years. He left command in his will that they should erect a finer dwelling place for the blessed saint. Joannes Particiatus, Giustiniano's brother, whom he had recalled from Greece and made his colleague, was declared Prince, and immediately commanded that a holy temple should be built close by the ducal palace, into which, when duly dedicated, the body of the Evangelist was translated from the little chapel. From the clergy were chosen certain who should perform divine service there, and to them were given what are now called the first-fruits. It was but a slight building at first, and had nothing of its present opulence or the grandeur which the great pile of buildings now display. Candiano, the son of that Pietro in whose time occurred the capture of the Maidens, cleared the seas of the Narentanian pirates. He associated with himself neither his eldest nor youngest son, but the middle one, Pietro by name. In a very little while he began to conduct himself with such insolence, as stirred men up to open sedition, and excited the city to strife. Almost all old men were for his father; the foolish and seditious followed the daring youth. Such passion was shown on either side that they were on the verge of civil war. The son therefore was exiled, and, going to the enemies of Venice, obtained from them six ships, with which he fell upon some Venetian vessels near the shore at



Ravenna. The news of this crime so affected his father that he fell ill from grief, and in a few days died. But when the creation of the new Doge came on (such levity always appears in the conduct of the people), a public decree was issued for the recall of Peter Candianus, and he was chosen Doge. The State soon repented of its rashness, and paid the penalty in its sufferings under the new Doge's administration, for as soon as he had established his power he replaced his legitimate rule by open tyranny, adopting a haughty behaviour, and preferring to make himself terrible to all rather than to gain popularity by kindness and courtesy. He thus made himself so strong in the Doge's seat that he would speak and act as the very proudest tyrant would have done. When in the seventeenth year of his rule, as some say, or the twenty-second, as others state (for the chroniclers vary very much in the length of the Doges' reigns), suddenly the people, who had never really been unmindful of their rightful liberty, made an attack upon him. He retired to defend himself to a high part of the building, and in the contest lighted torches were thrown into the houses round, which flaming up, not only the roof of the ducal palace, but also the sanctuary of the blessed S. Mark, caught fire and were burnt. Pietro, seeing himself surrounded so that he must either yield or die, took his little son in his arms and escaped into the part of the church which had not yet caught



fire. But he found the way barred by his enemies. He began to implore them for mercy, promising to listen to their complaints, and praying that if they would not spare him they would not injure his little son, who had never done them any injury. But his prayers were unheard, his enemies crying that it were well to deliver the Republic from a tyrant, and he and the child, with many wounds, were killed.

At that time the uprightness and integrity of Pietro Orseolo were known to all, and thus, on the fall of Pietro Candiano, the people unanimously gave their votes for him in the church of San Pietro, where now is the seat of the Patriarch, all desiring to make him their Prince; and when he would have refused the office, the earnest prayers of the people, who feared lest the Republic should perish utterly in the troubles of that time, prevailed upon him finally to accept, though all agree that he yielded very unwillingly. He had been accustomed from childhood to justice, and feared to undertake the administration of public affairs—in which it is hard to preserve one's innocence—but the love of country, which is born in us, as the divine Plato says, moved him so that he did not fail her or his fellow-citizens in this critical time. He was therefore declared Doge, and because it seemed that the state of the Republic was such that it could not be re-established quickly, but that insurrections and disturbances would arise

for many days, he bound the people to him by an oath, that they might be more submissive, every one promising that they would not allow the man who was raised to the highest dignity among them to be touched in any time of disturbance. And because the ducal palace had been burnt in the fire, he removed the throne and the insignia of government into a private house, but resolved to bring it back to a public building as soon as it should be rebuilt. He began therefore upon the work, and with greater magnificence than it had possessed before. He repaired both the buildings at his private expense, and then accomplished, with few assistants, the removal of the body of the blessed Evangelist, which had been preserved from the flames, into the restored sanctuary, and a tablet, made with wonderful art out of Byzantine gold, was placed, with a solemn dedication, by the high altar.

It was in the year of our Lord 977 that the Doge Pietro Orseolo fetched the best architects from Constantinople to Venice to rebuild the temple of S. Mark, after the ducal chapel had been burnt in the time of the Doge Pietro Candiano. This noble building was finished in the course of ninety-six years in 1071, under Domenico Contarino, as is attested by those lines written in the cornice of the porch of the church—

“Anno Milleno transacto bisque trigeno,  
Desuper undecimo fuit facto primo.”

At the end of the same year, when Domenico Silvio was made Doge, they began to ornament the church in many ways, and especially with a kind of mosaic pictures which had been used in ancient times, as may be seen in Rome in the temple of Bacchus, now dedicated to S. Agnes, in the pavement of the temple of Fortune in Preneste, in Ravenna, in the amphitheatre of Pola, in the ruins of Albino and Concordia, where it is thought that mosaic work was done after the Christian era, but before the foundation of Venice. The artists fixed upon limestone a coloured enamel which long resisted the effects of time and rain.

They were Greek artists also who executed these mosaics, and, in particular, there was a representation of the Saviour in the tribune of the chapel of the choir, with the Virgin, David, Solomon, Malachi, Zechariah, and other prophets; and, in the arch on the right, S. Mark being consecrated by S. Peter and sent to Aquileia, over which may be read, "Marcus sacratur," together with other events of his life and of the life of S. Hermagoras; and, in the arch on the left, there is a representation of the body of S. Mark being transported from Alexandria to Venice, with this inscription: "Marcum furantur, kanzir ij vociferantur," and with the other miracles of the voyage, and the Doge Giustiniano Partecipazio receiving it, which happened in the year 828. This kind of work went on improving till the time of the Abbot

Gioachino, who flourished in the year 1186, and who was divinely inspired to have depicted over the door of the treasury the figures of S. Dominic and S. Francis, with the word "Sanctus" written everywhere. He drew their portraits with his own hand, and other prophetic visions. Greek artists continued to paint various saints in the manner in which they are represented by the artists of that nation; and thence it may be clearly seen that painting in modern times was begun again in Venice before it was introduced into Florence, for Vasari says that some Greeks were called to Florence in the year 1240 to bring back art to that city, and then proceeds to describe with much ostentation the works of Cimabue and other painters. When things began to improve after the year 1300, there was one Guariento, a Paduan, in the city of Venice, who was distinguished among those who produced works of some importance as approaching more to nature than has been hitherto usual. He, during the rule of Marco Cornaro about the year 1365, was appointed by the Senate to paint in the hall of the Great Council over the tribunal a representation of Paradise. It is now covered by Tintoretto's Paradise. He painted in the middle the Saviour in the act of placing the golden crown on the head of the Virgin Mother, saints and angels and cherubim and seraphim standing round as is described in the Holy Scriptures, and some verses from Dante written beneath. Over the door of the Council

Hall appeared the holy hermits Paul and Antony, dividing between them a loaf brought to them by a raven, which was intended to represent the union and mutual affection of the citizens of the Republic.

Some writers say that Guariento painted also in that hall the war with Spoleti and some other scenes, but the pictures have been in the course of years restored or repainted by successive artists. Gentile da Fabriano, who had made himself famous for the works he had executed in Rome when Martin V. was Pope, was fetched also to Venice, and was commissioned by the Senate to paint in the Council Hall the naval battle between the Doge Ziano and Otho, the son of the Emperor Frederick, working together with Vivarino and Antonio Veneziano. Gentile's work giving much satisfaction, he obtained from the Senate an annual stipend, and the right to wear the toga, according to the custom of the patricians of that city.

The campanile of S. Mark's was founded in the time of Domenico Morosini, the Doge, by a certain Buono, of whose country and surname we are ignorant, for when he leaves any memorial of himself on his works he signs nothing but the simple name. He laid the foundations so well, fixing the piles with such care and judgment, that it has never moved a hair, as other buildings have done and still are doing. It seems to be from him that the Venetians have learnt how to make founda-

tions solid enough to support the beautiful and costly edifices that are being built every day in that magnificent city. It is true that the tower has nothing good in itself, neither style nor ornament, nor anything specially worthy of praise. It was finished in the times of the Popes Anastasius IV. and Adrian IV. in the year 1154.

A Venetian, Antonio, came to Florence to study painting under Agnolo Gaddi, and acquired such a good style that he was greatly esteemed by the Florentines, and much flattered and caressed for his talents and virtues. He therefore returned to Venice that he might let his native city know the success he had attained by his earnest labour, and when he had shown what he could do in fresco and tempera, he was entrusted by the signoria with the task of painting on the walls of the Council Hall, which he carried out with such care and splendour, that he ought to have received an honourable reward. The rivalry among the artists, or, more truly, envy, and the favour shown by some of the nobles to some foreign artists, was the cause that, instead of reward, he was left to want. Poor Antonio, therefore, seeing himself thus neglected, returned to Florence, determining never to go back to Venice, but to take Florence for his city instead.



## CHAPTER VII

### DESTRUCTION AND REBUILDING OF MILAN

THE German princes, hearing how Frederick was prospering in Lombardy, determined to come to his assistance. So the Landgraf, the Emperor's brother-in-law, the Count Palatine his brother, and many other dukes and nobles hastened to descend into Lombardy. On the 29th of May they came into the Milanese, and laid waste the land. The Emperor ordered all the 'grass and corn and vines and fruit trees to be cut down for fifteen miles round the miserable city, and the devastation took fifteen days to accomplish.

The Emperor, going into winter quarters, commanded the Germans and the men of Lodi to watch the roads day and night lest the men of Brescia and Piacenza should carry provisions to the Milanese, ordering that if any were taken doing so they should have their hands cut off.

Every one therefore being frightened, no relief was possible, and the people of Milan fell into great straits for want of food, and perceived that they were unable to hold out any longer, and that the Emperor Frederick was determined never to leave



his enemies alone until he had reduced them to utter obedience. It was concluded, therefore, that they must plead for mercy. They sent men to the Emperor to say that they would consent to allow the walls to be broken down in six places and the fosses filled up, and that they would receive a Podestà at his nomination. To this Frederick replied that he would not receive them to mercy unless they surrendered unconditionally. The messengers returned to Milan, and reported what the Emperor had answered, which, when they had heard, they feared that the end of their city was come. Yet if they refused to submit they were afraid lest they should lose not their city only, but their lives. Therefore they agreed that they must again submit themselves to the imperial yoke. But Frederick, having decided upon the cruel and complete destruction of the whole city, commanded the consuls of Milan to make all the inhabitants depart from the city within eight days. The Milanese, therefore, amid great lamentation and loud weeping, which resounded on every side, obeyed the command; and some departed to Pavia, some to Como, some to Bergamo, some to lands outside Lombardy, like men desperate. But a great multitude still waited round the moats of the city hoping that Frederick in pity would allow them to return to their miserable city. Then the Emperor on a Thursday, the 26th of March 1162, came to Milan with the German princes and the rulers of

Cremona, Pavia, Novara, Como, and Lodi, and many others. And he commanded the men of Lodi to destroy the Eastern Gate, with la Tosa ; to the men of Cremona he entrusted the destruction of the Roman Gate ; to the men of Pavia the Ticini Gate, the men of Novara the Vercellina, to the men of Como the Comacina, and the New Gate to the men of the Seprio and Martesana. These began the ruin of the wretched city of Milan. The first to begin the work were one Rainaldo Bottigella and one Lanfranco Torti of Pavia. The work of destruction lasted until the following Sunday, which was Palm Sunday, but it seems a thing incredible that such ruin could have been accomplished even in two months' continual work. Nevertheless it was so done that not the fiftieth part of the buildings were left standing, and all the wall of the city was destroyed, with a hundred towers built of stone so solidly that it was considered the best work that had ever been built in Italy ; the theatre, the amphitheatre, the capitol, the hippodrome and the arena, with all the famous buildings erected at the first building of Milan or by emperors later. The campanile of Santa Maria Maggiore was at first left standing ; it was of wonderful height and size, but after a few days the Emperor ordered it to be thrown down, and, falling on the church, it destroyed the greater part of it. The men of Lodi, mindful of injuries received from the Milanese, not only destroyed the Eastern Gate but a great part of the

Roman. Who can worthily lament the fall of the famous city? Who describe the destruction of those days, the cruelty of the barbarous people? Lamentations mingled with the sound of arms, until it seemed as if heaven and earth together were falling in ruins. At last the unrelenting Emperor—on the solemn day when our Saviour came into Jerusalem with the people singing, “Blessed is He that cometh in the name of the Lord!”—departed from the ruined city amid universal execration, and returned to Pavia bearing with him the holy bodies of the Three Kings which S. Eustorgius had brought to Milan during his episcopal reign in the year 311. Frederick also transferred into Germany the bodies of SS. Gervaso Prolaso, Naborre, and Felice. Finally on Easter Day, assembling round him in Pavia all the rulers of Lombardy, the bishops and nobles of Italy, in the chief church, after the celebration of mass he was crowned with Beatrice Augusta, with the crown which three years before he had refused, swearing that it should not be placed on his head until he had taken the city of Milan.

Then followed a time of great misery, and the governors and captains appointed by the Emperor to rule in Lombardy oppressed with bitter injustice every Lombard small and great, until their extortions reached a height unbearable, and necessity found a way of escape. For the Milanese, who had been most severely afflicted, called together a council of the men of Cremona, Bergamo, Brescia,

Mantua, and Ferrara, and when they had each related their sufferings, it was agreed that it were better to die once for all gloriously than live under such tyranny. And Pinamonte da Vimercate, a noble of Milan, with great eloquence addressed them, urging that they should rebuild the city of Milan, which had ever been the head of the country, and had defended and maintained liberty. And they all approved the counsel, and made an alliance among themselves, that each city should aid the others against the injustice of the Emperor and his officers. They appointed a time to restore the men of Milan to their city, and promised to help them in making their defences that they might dwell securely. The Milanese therefore, on the 28th of April, the feast of SS. Vitale and Valeria, re-entered their loved city with their allies, well armed and with many banners, and, prostrating themselves on the ground, gave thanks to the cities that were aiding them, and with all their power began to fortify themselves in their ruined city.

It was under the rule of Doge Vitale Michele, the second of the name, a man of skill in the management of business, that the Venetians gave assistance to the Milanese in rebuilding their city, which the Emperor Frederick had destroyed. He was succeeded by Sebastiano Ziani, seventy years of age, placid and gentle in nature and countenance, and beyond measure rich. In his time

Alexander III. came to Venice, and thence arose the assistance rendered to him by the Republic against the Emperor Frederick Barbarossa, and the victory won over Otho his son. The Pope placed a stone over the door of the church of Santo Chiriaco in Ancona, on which is related the indulgence conceded by him to the church of S. Mark in Venice, which was afterwards confirmed by Pope Pius II. For the Pope, being very grateful to the Venetian Government, granted many external signs of his favour and love, giving them standards and trumpets, the umbrella, the throne, the sword, and the dominion over the sea. The Pope granted favours to many churches in the city; to the churches of S. Mark, of San Salvatore, San Silvestro, and San Giovanni, where he celebrated mass at the altar of S. Antonio. This Doge raised his country to great honour, and died in great renown, leaving much riches and property to the government and the church of S. Mark.

The news of this conspiracy and how the Milanese had re-entered their city soon reached the Emperor; but he, although it cut him deeply, put on an appearance of not caring, and as he was absent in Germany, Lombardy had some years of repose from war, and every republic set itself to repair the injury it had received. The Milanese in the year 1171 began the building of the strong walls which at present surround the city. They began upon the Roman Gate, and the circuit of the

walls was arranged in this manner. There were six principal gates all keeping their old name ; and ten postern gates, which some hold have kept also their old name. They differed from the gates in this, that the gates were defended by two towers, one on each side. The towers were not completed then, but later by Azzone Visconti, and were made of terra-cotta, and the marble viper was placed on the front, as it may be seen. The postern gates were constructed with only one tower, except the Ambrosiana. Some have been called gates which are only posterns, like the Giovia, where the castle is now and the Tosa, but the gates have never been called posterns, and every gate has its own flag, but not the posterns. The circumference of the great city was about 5936 braccia.

The same year Manfredo Archinto endowed the monastery of Chiaravalle with great possessions, among them the great vineyard of Pilastrello. He was buried with great honour at the door of the church. Indeed, the properties of the hospitals, which princes and bishops and nobles of Milan have left to Christ's poor, have grown in this great city until they reach, in our time, the sum annually of fifty thousand ducats, besides the great possessions of many monasteries.

In Milan thus restored and become the head of the League which curbed the power of Barbarossa and kept alive the party of the Church in Lombardy, the family Della Torre became very



powerful, and its reputation went on increasing, while the Emperors had less and less authority. But when Frederick II. came into Italy, and the Ghibellin party became powerful, there arose in every city a Ghibellin faction. In Milan it was headed by the family of the Visconti, and they drove out the family Della Torre.

Maffeo Visconti became thus the Prince in Milan, and was succeeded by Galeazzo and Azzone, and after them were Luchino and Giovanni. Giovanni became archbishop of the city. Luchino, who died before him, left Bernabo and Galeazzo, whose son was Giovanni Galeazzo, called the Conte di Virtù. He, after the death of the archbishop, contrived the death of his uncle Bernabo, and thus becoming the chief person in Milan, was the first to receive the title of Duke. His sons, Filippo and Giovan Maria Agnolo, being killed by the people of Milan, Azzone Visconti turned his mind to strengthening the walls of the city, restoring the towers and battlements. He continued the building of the gates which had been left incomplete, and placed upon them his badge, the viper, and cleared the streets round the walls of all the buildings, which was a fine improvement to the great city. He repaired many old buildings which were falling into ruins, and among them the campanile of Santa Maria Maggiore. He also, by two conduits, brought water running more rapidly into the city—one was called the Nirone and the other



the Cantarana, which would have been very useful to this city if they had been carefully attended to. He also built in the piazza called the Arengo a very fine palace, unequalled for magnificence and grandeur in Italy; and in the back part of it a chapel dedicated to San Gottardo, because he suffered from gout. It was rich in costly furniture and relics, chalices and crosses, and apparel for divine service.

Giovanni Galeazzo, Conte di Virtù, deposed his uncle and made himself absolute lord of Milan, and, having overthrown the Scaligeri and made himself master of Verona and Vicenza, designed to build a great church in Milan. The beginning of that most marvellous cathedral, dedicated to the Blessed Virgin, was made on the 13th of June 1387, and it may be asserted without fear of mistake, that it holds the first rank among the cathedrals of the universe. Giovanni Galeazzo had vowed to Mary, the source of richest favour, that if she would give him sons he would name them after her, and therefore all his descendants received the second name of Maria. He began to construct also a citadel with strong walls surrounding the district round the Vercellina Gate as far as to Abbeveratojo and thence to the castle, but the Milanese watched the work with astonishment and displeasure.

## CHAPTER VIII

### POPE NICHOLAS V

POPE NICHOLAS V., from the time that he was raised to the papal throne, sought to make peace between the princes of Italy. The Pope did not take any part in the wars, except when he thought he could bring the combatants to accord. At last the Venetians, Alfonso, and the Florentines all grew weary of fighting, and the Pope became more desirous of peace than ever, because Mahomet, the Grand Turk, had taken Constantinople, and made himself master of all Greece. This conquest frightened all Christians, and, above all, the Venetians and the Pope, both of whom expected that he would make his arms felt in Italy. The Pope, therefore, implored the Italian powers to send delegates to arrange an universal peace, and they obeyed, though when it came to settling the terms it seemed very difficult to carry through.

But when an imperfect peace had been concluded, the Pope gave himself to works of peace, and turned everything upside down in Rome, planning to rebuild nearly the whole of it. At this time Leon Batista Alberti came to the city,

and, through Biondo da Furli, became close friends with the Pope. He had been consulting before with Bernardo Rossellino, the Florentine sculptor and architect, who had begun to remodel the palace of the Pope, and to work in Santa Maria Maggiore. The Pope now desired him to take counsel constantly with Leon Batista, and thus Nicholas, with the advice of one or other, completed many things both useful and deserving of praise, such as the repair of the Virgin's Fountain, which had been in ruins, and the fountain in the Piazza di Trevi, with the marble decorations, in which may be seen the arms of that Pope and of the Roman people.

Nicholas esteemed Bernardo Rossellino very highly, and employed him in many of his works in various towns. In Rome the Pope undertook the repair, and in many parts the rebuilding, of the city walls, which were mostly in ruins. He added many towers, and enclosed within the walls a new fortification, which he made at Castel Sant' Angelo outside, and many new rooms and architectural ornaments within.

The pontiff had the intention (and he carried out a great part of his plan) of restoring or rebuilding, as might be required, the forty churches of the stations that S. Gregory the Great had instituted. He restored, therefore, Santa Maria Trastevere, Santa Prasedia, San Teodoro, San Pietro in Vincula, and many of the other smaller ones. But he set to work upon six out of the seven

greater churches with much higher intentions and far greater schemes : that is, San Giovanni Laterano, Santa Maria Maggiore, Santo Stefano, on the Cælian Hill, Sant' Apostolo, San Paolo, and San Lorenzo extra muros. I do not mention here S. Peter's, because that was a separate plan. He intended to turn the Vatican into a fortress, and make it a city apart. There were to be three ways leading to S. Peter's—I think where the Borgo Vecchio and the Borgo Nuovo are now, which were to be covered with loggie on each side, with most convenient shops, separating the nobler and richer trades from the smaller, and putting each in a road by itself, and the round tower he completed, which is still known as the Nicholas Tower. And above these shops and loggie were to be houses, both magnificent and convenient, built in the finest style of architecture, and designed so as to be sheltered from all the winds, which are so pestiferous in Rome, and kept free from all nuisances of dirt and damp, which bring malaria. And all this would have been done if only a little longer life had been granted to this pontiff. He was a man of great mind and resolute will, and understood everything so well that he directed and guided the artists rather than they him. When this is the case, great undertakings are easily accomplished ; the master understanding of himself, and being capable of forming an opinion, can decide quickly, while an irresolute,

incapable man, hesitating between yes and no, between various designs and opinions, lets the time pass uselessly. But there is no need to say more about this design of Nicholas's, as it was not carried out. He wished besides to build the papal palace with such magnificence and grandeur and convenience and beauty that it should be accounted the largest and most beautiful building in Christendom, intending it not only to serve for the habitation of the person of the chief pontiff, the head of the Christian Church, and for the sacred college of cardinals, his counsellors and supporters, who should be always round him, but also that there should be room for all those employed in the business of the Courts of Justice and all the affairs of the Court. If thus all the courts and offices could have been brought together, it would have produced an effect of magnificence and greatness, and, if such an expression may be used, of an incredible pomp. Besides all this, it would have been capable of receiving emperors, kings, dukes, and all the Christian princes who, for business or for devotion, should visit the Holy Apostolic See.

He wished to make a theatre for the coronation of pontiffs, and gardens, loggie, and aqueducts, fountains, chapels, libraries, and a private cabinet most beautiful. To sum up, this—I do not know whether I should call it palace, castle, or city—would have been the most superb thing that had ever been made from the foundation of the world, at least,



FREDERIGO DI MONTEFELTRO, DUKE OF URBINO.

*(After the painting by Piero della Francesca, now in the Uffizi Gallery, Florence.)*





as far as one knows, to this day. How great it would have been for the holy Roman Church to see her high priest and head dwelling in a most holy and renowned monastery with all the ministers of God that inhabit the city of Rome gathered round him! And in that new terrestrial paradise living lives heavenly, angelic, most holy: setting an example to all Christendom and awakening the souls of unbelievers to the true worship of God and Jesus Christ!

But such a great work was left unfinished, or rather it was scarcely begun at the death of that pontiff. The little that he did may be known by his arms or what he used for his arms, two keys crossed on a red field.

The fifth thing of the five things that he planned to do was the church of S. Peter, which he had designed to make so great, so rich, so beautiful, that it is best to say nothing about it because it would be impossible to describe the smallest part of it, and besides the model afterwards was spoiled, and it was built in another way by other architects. He fetched many painters to Rome, among them Piero, called Piero della Francesca from the name of his mother. He had applied himself to mathematics in his youth, but from the age of fifteen inclined to paint and was employed by the old Duke of Urbino, for whom he painted many very beautiful pictures, which for the most part have perished in the troubles which war has brought on that

State. There are preserved, however, some of his writings on geometry and perspective, in which he was inferior to none of his time, or perhaps of any time. Having acquired credit and reputation in that court, he wished to make himself known in other places, and, going to Pesaro and Ancona, he was summoned by Duke Borso to Ferrara, and painted for him many rooms for his palace, which, however, were pulled down by Duke Ercole when he wished to make the palace more modern. When Nicholas V. called him to Rome he painted two pictures on the palace in the rooms above, but they were afterwards destroyed by Julius II. that Raffaello might paint the imprisonment of S. Peter there. The works of Bramantino, who was an excellent painter for his time, were destroyed at the same time. And because I cannot describe his life, nor his particular works, it seems well to me to make mention of him, because in these works that were destroyed there were some heads from life so beautiful and so well painted that they wanted nothing but speech. Raffaello had some of them copied in order to keep the portraits of such great people—Niccolà Fortebraccio, Charles VII., King of France, Antonio Colonna, Prince of Salerno, and others. The copies were all made by Giulio Romano, pupil and heir of Raffaello, and were placed by Giovio in his museum at Como.

When Fra Angelico's fame had spread through all Italy, Pope Nicholas V. sent for him, and he



THE CRUCIFIXION.

*(After the fresco by Fra Angelico in the Convent of San Marco at Florence.)*



decorated the chapel of the palace, where the Pope hears mass, with a Deposition from the Cross, and some pictures of S. Lorenzo, and he illuminated some books in a most beautiful manner. He also for the same Pope painted the chapel of the Sagramento in the palace, which was pulled down by Paul III. to put the staircase in its place. In these pictures he had introduced portraits of the noted people of his time, which would have been lost if Il Giovio had not obtained them for his museum—Pope Nicholas V., the Emperor Frederick, who came into Italy at that time, Frate Antonino, who was afterwards Archbishop of Florence, and others. And because Fra Giovanni seemed to the Pope to be, as he was indeed, a person of most holy life, quiet and modest, when the archbishopric of Florence fell vacant, he judged him to be worthy of the post; but when the Frate heard it, he implored his Holiness to find another, for he did not feel himself fit to govern people, but there was in his order a friar, most learned, a lover of the poor and a God-fearing man, and it would be much better that the dignity should be bestowed on him. The Pope, feeling that what he said was true, accorded him his request, and so Frate Antonino of the Preaching Friars was made archbishop, a man renowned for saintliness and learning—in fact such a one as deserved well that Adrian VI. should canonise him.

## CHAPTER IX

### GROWTH AND PROSPERITY OF VENICE

IN the dogeship of Michele Steno, the Venetians won a great victory over the Genoese, but still more important was the war with Carrara. For, being overcome by the Venetian arms, Padua, Verona, and Vicenza fell into their hands, to the great advantage of the Republic, which now planted its foot on the mainland, and increased both in dominion and importance, and also in the envy of the other States. At this time the ceiling of the Grand Council Chamber was gilded, and the windows which look on the canal, with the stars—the Doge's arms. His successor, Tomaso Mocenigo, was also received with great pleasure as being a man desirous of peace, and much encouraging everything that tended to the business of the city. And the trade was grown so great that treasures were brought from all parts of the world, and great galleys laden with merchandise were sent to other lands, so that it was very desirable that war should be kept at a distance. When Calixtus III. was chosen Pope, he sent into all Christian provinces preachers and orators to persuade the princes and the peoples to arm in support of their religion, and

give their money and themselves to an enterprise against the common enemy the Turks, and many in Florence gave money and took the Cross. There were solemn processions and intercessions, nor was any want of will, private or of public, shown. But the enthusiasm for the crusade was somewhat cooled by the news that the Turks had been routed at Belgrade, on the river Danube, and, the fear of them that had arisen after the fall of Constantinople ceasing, they proceeded in their preparations for war more quietly. But Pius II., by name Eneas Piccolomini, was earnest in persuading the Italian princes to lay aside their quarrels, that he might move all Christendom against the Turks, as Calixtus had striven to do. He laboured therefore earnestly to compose their differences, hoping then that they would take up the work of their ancestors; and all the princes promised him money or troops. In particular, Matthias of Hungary and Charles, Duke of Burgundy, promised to go themselves, and were therefore appointed by the Pope to lead the expedition. And the Pope was so full of hope of success that he left Rome and went to Ancona, where it had been arranged that the army should assemble, the Venetians having promised them ships to convey them to Sclavonia. After the arrival of the Pope in the city, so many people assembled there that in a few days all the provisions of the city and the neighbourhood failed, and a famine threatened. There was also no



money to provide those that needed food, nor arms for those that were without. Neither Matthias nor Charles appeared, and the Venetians had indeed sent a few galleys, but not enough, to convey the army across. It was the will of God that this fierce infidel people should be the scourge of Christendom. So the Pope died and the league was dissolved, and the Senate of Venice was left to combat the Turks alone.

Then in the year 1484 the Republic of Venice sustained a cruel loss, for in one night all the Ducal Palace was burnt. It is said a candle was let fall in the Doge's chapel, and, being neglected, the fire smouldered on until in the night it broke out into flames, and it would have spread widely if the whole city had not hastened to extinguish it. In 1485 they began to rebuild the burnt part in a worthy and durable manner. The façade towards the land was covered with white marble, and ornamented with a diamond pattern, while that facing the piazza was also restored, though a cruel pestilence broke out that summer and made great havoc in the city.

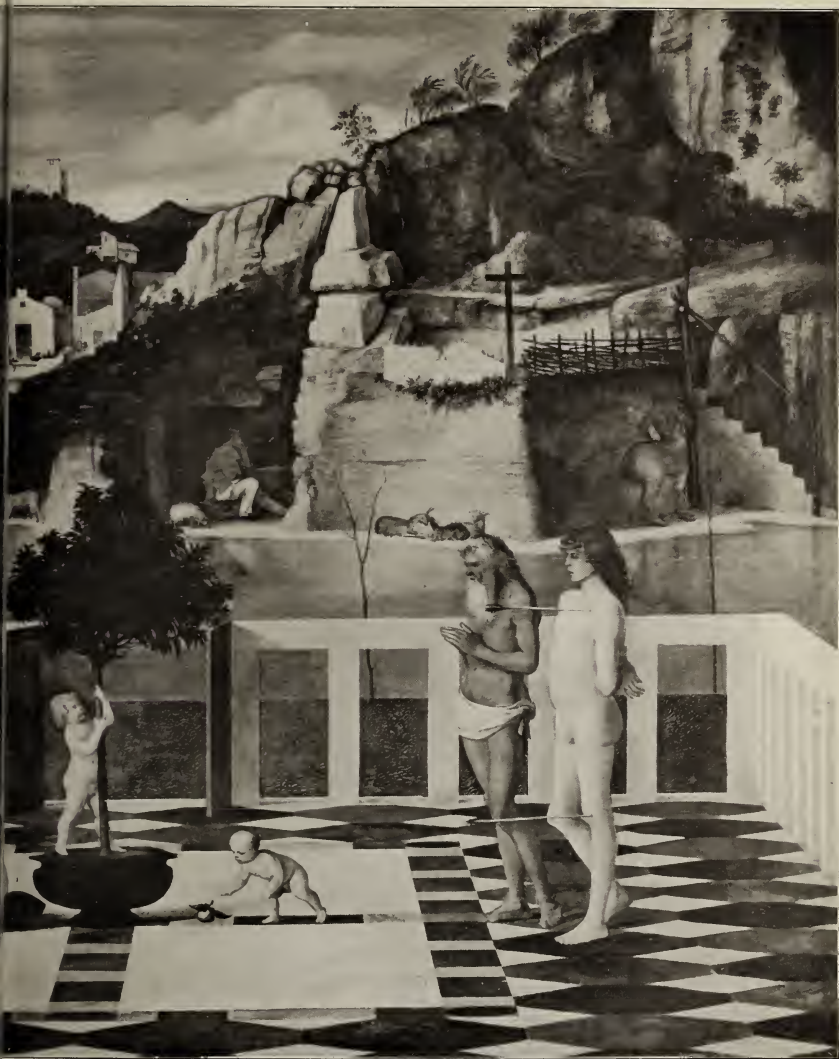
But it may be well to describe the great maritime prosperity and the riches and extended commerce of the city at this time. There is, indeed, no market in the inland sea which flows from Cadiz between Africa and Europe to Syria and Egypt in the east and the Bosphorus in the north which the Venetian galleys do not visit for





*Giovanni Bellini*

A RELIGIOUS ALLEGORY: THE VIRGIN WITH THE THREE KINGS  
(Uffizi Gallery)



. PAUL, JOSEPH, SEBASTIAN AND OTHERS  
(Florence)

*Alinari*



the purpose of trade. It would sound incredible if I were to tell how many ships frequent continually the shores not only of Italy, but of Dalmatia, Macedonia, and all Greece, as if they were mere suburbs of Venice. I will speak only of those which are at certain seasons every year prepared to go to the most remote places. Four of these great galleys come from Syria, and as many from Egypt, bringing spices, silk, precious stones, pearls into Italy. Three fetch gold, precious stones, and slaves from Barbary. Two bring valuable cloth and Spanish silk, far better than any other, from the Gallic seas in the Mediterranean. Four from Tana and the Meotian marshes bring salt fish, carpets, and emeralds, besides four which bring us from the markets of the Gallic Ocean wool, gold, tapestry, and a great quantity of Flemish cloth. There used to go thither four galleys, whose captain was Bartolomeo Minio. But while he was navigating the Spanish seas, Columbus the younger, nephew of the famous corsair Columbus, met the Venetians by night near the Sacrum promontory, now called S. Vincent, with seven ships armed for the fight. And he, although at first meeting them he had prepared to overwhelm the Venetians, yet abstained from fighting all the night through; although, to be ready for the battle in the morning, he followed them so closely that the prow of the pirate boats touched the stern of the Venetians. As soon as



day broke the barbarian made an assault. The Venetians bore the assault of an enemy so superior in numbers both of ships and combatants for many hours of fierce fighting. Rarely has there been such slaughter with such enemies ; some say, who were present at the fight, that 300 of the Venetians fell, others indeed make it less. Lorenzo Michele, captain of one ship, perished, and Giovanni Delfino, the brother of another captain. The struggle lasted from dawn until the twentieth hour, and the Venetians suffered much. Delfino's boat was already in the power of the enemy when the others, one by one, surrendered. Some who were in this fierce conflict say that they counted from prow to stern eighty bodies of brave men, which moved the enemy even to lamentation, and to complain that the Venetians had brought it upon themselves by their pertinacity. The dead bodies were thrown into the sea, and the wounded put on the nearest shore. Those who were left went with the victors in the captured ships to Lisbon, and were there let go. Lisbon is a seaport of Portugal, probably the ancient Olisippo, and is now the royal residence, and very rich. The Venetians were received kindly by the king, and the sick had medical attendance, and the others money and clothes according to their requirements. It is said that the Venetians have an ancient friendship with the Portuguese, which they take care to preserve.



Of the early painters of Venice we know little, but of those greater ones, whom the Senate commissioned to work in the restored palace, we have longer accounts. Vittore Carpaccio, a noble citizen of long descent, but still more illustrious for his talents, won fame for his country by his works. He was at first rather dry in his style, but softened and improved it in process of time. He worked in company with the Bellini and others for the Confraternity of San Giovanni, and then was given a picture to paint in the Grand Council Hall in the series of Pope Alexander and the Emperor. But far the best of his works were placed in the church of Santi Giovanni e Paolo, which deserve the highest praise. There, in seven pictures of varying size, he represented the life of the holy queen, S. Ursula. As we have said, he lived in the time of the Bellini, and often painted in company with them, obtaining equal praise.

The family of the Bellini had held an honoured place among Venetian citizens, and had produced already good painters. Jacopo Bellini was a pupil of Gentile da Fabriano, when he was staying in Venice. Among his other works, he painted many portraits of Venetians, and also Jacopo Lusignano, King of Cyprus, and from his hand may be seen the pictures of Petrarca and of Madonna Laura, which were held then to be things of great value. He taught the art to his sons, who surpassed him greatly, especially Giovanni. The early painters,

as we have said, had painted on the walls of the Great Council Hall the great deeds of the Republic, and these were for the most part repainted by the order of the Senate by these two brothers after Gentile had returned from Constantinople, whither he had been sent by the government to serve Mahomet II., the King of the Turks.

Giovanni, according to the custom of the painters of his time, had worked in tempera, until he learnt the way to paint in oil, which was brought to Venice by Antonello da Messina, who had learnt it in Flanders from John of Bruges. Giovanni Bellini, seeing this new method of painting, which showed a certain softness and union of colour which could not be obtained in tempera, and not being able to imagine how Antonello produced it, introduced himself into the house in the character of a gentleman who wished to have his portrait painted. The Venetian toga made this deception easy, and the unconscious artist set to work. Giovanni, observing that from time to time he dipped his brush in linseed oil, found out the method he used. However, Antonello obtained much glory from the invention he had brought to Venice, and when he died at the age of forty-nine, he was honoured by the Venetian artists with an epitaph commemorating his bringing to Italy this invention.

In this way Giovanni, having learnt the way to mix colours with oil, employed it himself, and his example was followed by all Italian painters. He



*Giovanni Bellini*

*Alinari*

PORTRAIT OF THE ARTIST  
*(Uffizi Gallery, Florence)*



worked in the Hall of the Grand Council in company with his brother Gentile, being no less admired and esteemed by the citizens, and indeed a large part of the Pope Alexander series was allotted to him. There were a great number of pictures of his collected in times past which raised his reputation greatly, and there are many in Rome, Germany, Flanders, and England, for he has been greatly esteemed for a certain delicate sweetness which is especially his own. He painted also many portraits of Doges and other illustrious men. He lived to the age of ninety, and died of old age at the height of his fame, enjoying the love of his fellow-citizens and the admiration of the whole world.

## CHAPTER X

### FLORENCE

IN the year 1378, Salvestro di Messer Alamanno de' Medici was chosen Gonfaloniere. He sprang from a very good family of the people, and could not endure that the people should be oppressed by a few powerful men. He therefore prepared a law to diminish the power of the leaders of the parties, and to make it possible that the *annun-  
niti*, those who had been declared incapable of holding office, should be restored. Salvestro had intended by passing the law to quiet the city, but the matter turned out otherwise, for the passions excited were so great that the shops were not opened, and the rich citizens shut themselves up in their houses and hid their property in the monasteries and churches. The next day the Arts began to unfurl their banners. The Council therefore, to content the people and to take away all cause of complaint, gave authority to the lords, to the Eight of War, and to the captains and syndics of the Arts to remodel the State for the general good—which kind of power is called in Florence the *Balía*. Nevertheless houses were

sacked and the public prisons broken open, and the monasteries of Agnolo and San Spirito, where many citizens had bestowed their property, sacked. Nor would the Public Treasury have escaped if it had not been defended by one of the lords, who on horseback, with many armed men behind him, defended it from the rage of the multitude. But at last, after two consultations and two *Balías*, a government was formed, and it was agreed that all who had been banished since Salvestro de' Medici was Gonfaloniere might return.

Thus the party of Populani Nobles and the Guelfs reassumed power, and the people lost it, after having the rule from 1378 to 1381.

The city remained quiet till 1393. During this time Giovanni Galeazzo Visconti, surnamed Conte di Virtù, took his uncle Bernabo prisoner, and became the greatest prince in all Lombardy. He thought to make himself king of all Italy by force, as he had made himself Duke of Milan by fraud, and began a vigorous war against the Florentines. During the troubles of this war, the people took umbrage at the conduct of the Gonfaloniere of Justice, and took up arms. A party of them went to the house of Messer Veri de' Medici, who had become the head of the family after the death of Salvestro. They begged him to take possession of the State and deliver them from the tyranny that they were complaining of. All agree that if Messer Veri had been ambitious



and not such a worthy man, he could without resistance have made himself prince of the city, but he refused, and persuaded them to lay down their arms.

The death of Giovanni Galeazzo put an end to the war, which had lasted twelve years. The government, finding itself without enemies within or without, sent an expedition against Pisa, and with great glory overcame and took possession of the city. They had been at war with the King of Naples, which was also ended by his death. They had conducted great wars with so much glory that they had acquired the rule of Arezzo, Pisa, Cortona, Livorno, and Monte Pulciano; and they would have done greater things if the city had remained united.

Although the popular party in Florence had been vanquished in 1381, yet, having the greater part of the citizens on its side, it was almost impossible to stifle it altogether. Incessant persecutions directed against the chiefs of this party had, however, reduced it to almost nothing. The principal families that, under this pretext, were pursued with most eagerness were the Alberti, the Ricci, and the Medici. They had often to suffer in their persons or their goods, and those who would not leave the place found the way to office closed to them. But the nobles, constantly reawakening by their behaviour the hatred of the citizens, gave to the Medici family the means to recover its

ancient credit. Giovanni di Bicci was the first of the family to rise. Having acquired great riches, and being known for his gentle disposition, the rulers did not oppose his appointment to high office, and the people were universally delighted, thinking they had found a protector.

On his deathbed he gave advice to his children concerning their manner of conducting themselves in the city, sending for his two sons, Cosimo and Lorenzo, and addressing them thus:—"I think I have lived as long as God and nature ordained for me at the time of my birth. I die content, since I leave you riches, health, and a great position. Remember that, in following my steps, you may live in Florence beloved and honoured by all. Nothing, in fact, makes my end more happy than the thought that I have offended no one, and that I have, on the contrary, done all the good I could. That is the example that I charge you to follow. As for the government, if you wish to live in security, take no more part in it than the laws and your fellow-citizens allow you. Thus you will be sheltered from danger and envy; for it is what men seize, and not what is given to them freely, that causes hatred; and the commonest thing in life is to see men lose what they possess by their efforts to encroach on others' rights, and, before they reach the moment of their fall, they are tormented by cruel anxiety. Following these maxims, I have been able, in the midst of enemies and quar-

rels, to maintain and ever increase my consequence among my fellow-citizens. You will obtain the same success if you follow my steps; but if you follow another road, you will end as miserably as those who in this republic have brought ruin on themselves and their families."

He died soon after, and was greatly regretted by the people, as his rare qualities deserved. He was very charitable, and not only gave help to those who asked, but often provided beforehand for the needs of the poor, and forestalled their requests. He hated nobody, gladly praised the good, and pitied the wicked. Without asking for honours and dignities, he obtained them all. He never appeared at the palace unless he was sent for; he loved peace and hated war. He succoured the citizens in misfortune, and also helped them in prosperity. An enemy to all fraud, he sought only to increase the resources of the State. In the exercise of his functions he received all with kindness, and did not make himself known by eloquence but by a rare wisdom. He had a melancholy air, but his conversation was gay and agreeable. He died rich in wealth, but still more in the general love and public esteem, and this double heritage was preserved and even increased by his son Cosimo.

The three arts of architecture, sculpture, and painting had now grown out of leading-strings, and left their childhood behind them. For first, through the study and diligence of the great

Filippo Brunelleschi, architecture had rediscovered the measures and proportions of the ancients, as may be seen in the stupendous cupola of Santa Maria del Fiore, in the beauty and grace of its lantern, in the ornate and graceful church of Santo Spirito, and the not less graceful and beautiful edifice of San Lorenzo, in the curious and fanciful temple of the Angeli, with its eight faces, and that graceful and elegant church and convent the Badia of Florence, and the magnificent grandiose beginning of the Palace Pitti, not to mention the cathedral of Urbino, the strong castle of Naples, and the impregnable castle of Milan, and many others.

And the same may be shown with reference to painting and sculpture from what remains to-day of the wonderful works of the masters of the second age, like Masaccio in the Carmine, with his naked man shivering with cold, and the life and vivacity of many other pictures, though they did not attain to the perfection of the third age. The sculptors indeed departed greatly from the manner of the earlier artists, and improved so much that they left little to the third. Lorenzo Ghiberti, in the gates of San Giovanni, displays invention, good arrangement, and design, and his figures seem to move and have intelligence. But for Donato, I cannot quite decide whether to put him in this period or in the third, for he overtops all the artists of this period ; and his figures have

a vivacity and lightness that will bear comparison with all of our modern works, and also with the ancients.

The Art of the Merchants having resolved in 1401 that another of the doors of San Giovanni at Florence should be made similar to the bronze door that Andrea Pisano had made, Jacopo della Quercia came to Florence with the hope of making himself known there. He was of the district of Siena, and, studying with great diligence, had begun to show how near to nature it is possible to get. The first of his works of any account were made by him in Siena when he was about nineteen, and this was the occasion. The Sienese had their army out against the Florentines, under Gian Tedesco, the nephew of Saccone da Pietra Mala and Giovanni d'Azzo Ubaldine. While in camp, Giovanni d'Azzo fell ill, and, being carried to Siena, died there. The Sienese, being grieved at his death, gave him a very splendid funeral, and made an erection over his body in the shape of a pyramid, on the top of which was placed a statue of Giovanni on horseback, larger than life, made by the hand of Jacopo. Jacopo had discovered a way of making the bones of the horse with pieces of wood fitted together, covered with hay and tow, and tied firmly together with ropes, over which he put clay, mixed with cement and paste. This way of doing it was really the best way for such things, for though it looks heavy, it is really when dry quite light, and

coloured white, looks like marble, and is pleasant to the eye. Besides, works made in this way do not crack, as they would if they were made of clay only. Models for sculpture are made in this way now, to the great convenience of the sculptors, who ought to feel no little gratitude to Jacopo, who was the inventor of it. He carved two works afterwards in wood, in which the faces, beards, and hair are worked with a marvellous patience. They were placed in the cathedral, and he also carved in marble some prophets, and would have done more there if the plague, famine, and civil discord had not caused his patron, Orlando Malevolti, to be driven out. Leaving Siena, therefore, he went to Lucca, where he had friends, and was employed by Paulo Guinigi, the lord of the city, to make a monument in the church of San Martino for his wife, who had just died. He put in the lower part of it some children, holding a wreath, so well executed in marble that it looks like flesh, and with infinite care carved the effigy of Guinigi's wife, who was buried there, with a dog at her feet, to symbolise her faithfulness to her husband. Paulo Guinigi being driven out in the year 1429, and Lucca becoming free, the monument was taken down from its place, and, from hatred to Guinigi, the people would have ruined it. However, the beauty of the figure and the carving excited their reverence, and saved it, and it was afterwards put up at the entrance to the sacristy, where it now is.



Coming now to Florence, he found that the work of the gate was to be entrusted to the artist who should carry out one of the subjects in the way that should give the best account of himself and his powers. He therefore not only made a model, but produced a work finished with the utmost perfection of execution, and if he had not had such great rivals the important work would have come to him. When he returned later to Florence, he was employed on Santa Maria del Fiore, where he made the Madonna, borne by a choir of angels. He worked at it for four years, and finished it with all the perfection that was in his power, for besides the natural desire to do it well, the rivalry with Donato, Filippo, and Lorenzo di Bartolo urged him on, and modern artists to-day look upon it as a rare piece of work.

The rivals for the gates of San Giovanni were Filippo di Ser Brunelleschi, Donato, and Lorenzo Ghiberti, all Florentines, Jacopo della Quercia from Siena, Niccolò d'Arezzo his pupil, Francesco di Valdambrina, and Simone da Colle. And when their work was seen by the citizens, the opinions were very various about it. But only that which Lorenzo had sent as a proof of his powers was perfect in all its parts. Lorenzo, therefore, began upon the gates, and when the work was finished, the consuls of the Art of Merchants thought they had been well served.

When Eugenius IV. was made Pope in the



year 1431, having heard that the Florentines were having the gates of San Giovanni made by Lorenzo Ghiberti, he thought he should like to have some like them made for S. Peter's, but, as he did not understand these things, he left them to his ministers. Antonio Tilarete, who was then young, and Simone, Donato's brother, both Florentines, gained their favour and obtained the work. They laboured at it for ten years, and although Pope Eugenius had to flee from Rome, and was much harassed by councils, those who had the care of S. Peter's managed that the work should not be neglected. In the year 1439 Pope Eugenius came to Florence to the council that met to unite the Greek and Roman Churches, and he went to see Lorenzo's works; and, being pleased with them, he had made for him a mitre of gold weighing fifteen pounds. The pearls weighed five pounds and a half, and it was valued, with the jewels set in it, at thirty thousand gold ducats. They say there were six pearls in it as large as filberts, and no one could imagine, unless they had seen the drawing of it, the curious beauty of the setting and the variety of little children and other figures which serve as graceful ornaments.

In making the third door of San Giovanni, Lorenzo was aided by many youths who were excellent artists, and by many others who, by their work and intercourse with one another, helped themselves as much as they did Lorenzo.

Lorenzo wrote a book in which he treated of many things, but in such a manner that little is to be made out of it. The only thing good in it, in my judgment, is that, after having spoken of ancient painters, and particularly of those quoted by Pliny, he makes a brief mention of Cimabue, Giotto, and others of that time; but this he does much too briefly, because he wishes to fall at once upon himself and relate minutely one by one all his works. I must explain that he makes out that the book is written by somebody else, but then, as a man does who is more accustomed to drawing and carving and casting in bronze than to weaving stories, he forgets what he is doing, and, when relating his own works, falls into the first person and says, "I made," "I said."

Masolino da Panicale di Valdelsa was a pupil of Lorenzo di Bartoluccio Ghiberti, and in his youth a good goldsmith and one of the best polishers that Lorenzo employed upon his doors. But he turned to painting when he was nineteen, and devoted himself to that from that time, learning to colour from Gherardo Starnina. He went to Rome to study, but the air made him ill and he returned to Florence, where he painted in the Carmine the figure of S. Peter. This was so much praised by artists that he was chosen to paint the history of S. Peter on the Brancacci chapel. A part of this he carried out with great care, as the four Evangelists in the vaulting, and the scene



*Masolino*

*Anderson*

ADAM AND EVE

*(Brancacci Chapel: Chiesa del Carmine, Florence)*



where Christ calls Andrew and Peter from their nets, and where he weeps for his sin of denial, and his preaching to convert the people. He painted also the storm at sea with the Apostles, and S. Peter curing his daughter Petronilla and going with S. John to the temple, with the impotent man asking for alms, whom he heals with the sign of the cross, not being able to give gold or silver. The figures have much grace and unusual grandeur in their attitude, while there is a pleasant softness in the colouring and relief and strength in the drawing. The whole work was much esteemed for its new qualities, containing much that was totally beyond Giotto's style, but he left the pictures unfinished at his death. Masolino was a man of the highest genius, with great facility in painting, but he executed his works with great earnestness and application. His zeal and continual hard work was the cause of his bodily infirmities, which cut short his life. He died at the age of thirty-seven, disappointing the hopes that had been conceived of him.

While Masolino was working in the Brancacci chapel, Tommaso, whom every one called Masaccio, began his studies. He followed as much as possible in Filippo and Donato's footsteps, though they practised different arts, and aimed in all his work to make his figures vivacious and alert, and as close to nature as possible. And his drawing and painting is so modern in style that it will bear

comparison with any modern painting. He was very studious in questions of art, especially in perspective, and in foreshortening, which had been little used before his time. Not feeling comfortable in Florence, and stimulated by his love of art, he determined to go to Rome, and there he painted a chapel for the Cardinal of San Clemente in the church of San Clemente. He also painted many pictures in tempera, which have been lost or destroyed during the troubles in Rome. There is one in the church of Santa Maria Maggiore in a chapel near the sacristy, in which is a portrait of Pope Martin from life, marking out the foundations of the church with a spade, and the Emperor Sigismund II. by the side of him. Michael Angelo and I were looking at it one day, and he praised it much, remarking that those men were alive in Masaccio's time. But while he was working for Pope Martin he received news that Cosimo de' Medici, by whom he was much favoured and assisted, had been recalled from exile. He therefore returned to Florence, and, Masolino having died, he was appointed to continue the work in the chapel of the Brancacci in the Carmine. When he began he is said first to have done the S. Paul that is close by the cord of the bell, in order to show the improvement in art that he had made. And the picture is indeed wonderfully good, displaying on the head of the saint, who is Bartolo di Angiolino Angiolini drawn from life, a terrible grandeur,

so that nothing but speech seems wanting. He showed also in this picture that he understood in a perfectly marvellous way how to foreshorten things seen from above: the feet of the apostle being no longer in the old foolish manner, which represented all figures as standing on the fronts of the toes. He was the one to clear up this difficulty, for no one before him had done it rightly, but he put it right, and arranged it as it is done to-day. It happened that while he was working at this chapel the Carmine church was consecrated, and Masaccio commemorated it by painting the ceremony in *chiaroscuro* over the door that leads from the convent through the cloister. He drew in it an infinite number of citizens in cloak and cowl going in procession, among whom are Filippo di Ser Brunelleschi in wooden shoes, Donatello, Masolino his master, Antonio Brancacci who made the chapel, Niccolò da Uzzano, Giovanni di Bicci de' Medici. He also drew Lorenzo Ridolfi, who was the Florentine ambassador to Venice, and he not only drew these gentlemen from life, but also the gate of the convent, with the porter standing with the keys in his hand.

After this, returning to the Brancacci chapel, he took up the history of S. Peter, begun by Masolino. Among the finest of these is where S. Peter, to pay the tribute, by direction of Christ obtains the money from the belly of a fish. One of the Apostles, the last, is a portrait of Masaccio



himself, drawn from a mirror, and most thoroughly alive. He also painted the raising of the king's son by S. Peter and S. Paul, though this he left imperfect, and it was finished by Filippino. In the picture of S. Peter baptizing, there is a naked man, shivering with cold, standing among the others, and about to be baptized, which has always been much admired by artists ancient and modern, and an infinite number of students and masters have from that time to this frequented the chapel. But though Masaccio's works have been always held in great reputation, it is nevertheless the firm opinion of many that he would have done far greater things if death had not cut him off at the age of twenty-six. Good things commonly do not last long, but he died in the flower of his age so suddenly, that there were not wanting those who suspected poison.

Filippo Lippi was made a friar of the Carmine soon after Masaccio had painted the Brancacci chapel; and because it was so beautiful he delighted in it, and went there every day to study among the youths who were always working there. He surpassed them, however, greatly, both in dexterity and knowledge, so that it was soon considered a certain thing that he would in time do something wonderful. And, every day improving, he caught the style of Masaccio so exactly, that many said the spirit of Masaccio had entered the body of Fra Filippo.



*Filippo Lippi*

S. PETER RAISES THE KING'S SON  
(*Brancacci Chapel; Chiesa del Carmine, Florence*)

*Anderson*



## CHAPTER XI

### COSIMO DE' MEDICI

THE church of San Lorenzo was to be rebuilt, and the work had been entrusted to the prior, a person who took up architecture as a pastime, and professed to understand it. He had already begun upon it, when one day Giovanni de' Medici, who had promised to build a chapel and the sacristy, invited Filippo Brunelleschi to dinner, and after much conversation began to speak to him about San Lorenzo, asking him what he thought about it. Filippo was obliged to give his true opinion, and found much fault with it, saying it was built by a person who knew more about letters than building. Giovanni asked Filippo if he could make something better and more beautiful. Filippo answered, "Certainly, and I am surprised you do not spend a few thousand scudi and make the body of the church suitable to its position, and to the noble monuments it contains. If you begin, others will soon follow with different chapels; and nothing we can do to keep our memories green lasts like walls, which bear testimony to those who built them for hundreds and thousands of years." Giovanni,

stirred by his words, decided to make the whole body of the church, though only seven families joined him and built their chapels. The chancel was not covered in when Giovanni passed away, and the work was left to his son, Cosimo. He was a man of greater spirit than his father, and this was the first thing he had built, and it gave him so much pleasure that he went on building until his death. He took it up with so much eagerness, that while he was finishing one thing he was planning to begin another ; and was constantly visiting the works, finding so much pleasure in it. He erected the tomb of his father in the part where the priests robe.

While he was working at this he began to consider having a palace built for him, and, expressing his desire to Filippo, the artist put aside every other occupation, and made a most beautiful model for it. It was to be opposite San Lorenzo, on the piazza, and to stand quite alone. But when Filippo had worked out his design, Cosimo thought it would be too great and too sumptuous a building, and more from fear of exciting envy than from the expense, he did not have the plan carried out. While he was working at the model, Filippo used to say that he thanked the fates who had granted him such an opportunity, having had a desire to make such a house for many years, and now having met with one who could do it. But when he heard of Cosimo's resolution not to have

it built, in his indignation he broke the model into a thousand pieces. Cosimo afterwards repented that he had not followed Filippo's design; and he used to say that he had never met with a man of greater intelligence than Filippo. He employed Filippo to make a model for the monastery of Regular Canons at Fiesole. It is an ornamental piece of architecture, cheerful and convenient, and has true magnificence. But the most important thing to notice is how, having to build it on the side of a mountain, he contrived with good judgment to put all the cellars, lavatories, stables, and kitchens, rooms for wood, and other stores in the lower part, and thus made a level for the rest of the edifice, where on one floor he could put the loggie, the refectory, the infirmary, the novices' part, the dormitories and the libraries, and all the principal rooms of a monastery. All the expense of this was borne by the magnificent Cosimo de' Medici, partly moved by devotion to the Christian religion and partly by the affection he bore to Don Timoteo da Verona, an excellent preacher of the order, whose conversation he so delighted in, that he made rooms for himself in the monastery and lived there whenever he could. Cosimo spent a hundred thousand scudi upon this building, as an inscription says.

Filippo's fame had grown so great that people sent for him from great distances, begging him to make designs or models for them. But he grew



old, and died in the year 1446, at the age of sixty-nine, having laboured hard to earn an honoured name on earth, and to ensure himself repose in heaven. His country mourned for him greatly, recognising his merit, and esteeming him more after his death than when he was alive. There was a great funeral ceremony for him in Santa Maria del Fiore, though he was buried in San Marco, beneath the pulpit near the door, where there is a coat-of-arms with two fig-leaves and some green waves on a field of gold, because his family came from Ferrara, that is, from Ficaruolo, a castle on the Po, the leaves signifying the place and the waves the river.

He did not live to see his great work, the cupola of Santa Maria del Fiore, completed. In his will he directed that his model should be followed very exactly, or the building would fall. How beautiful it is must be seen from the work itself. Its height from the ground to the lantern is a hundred and fifty-four braccia, the lantern thirty-six, the copper ball four, and the cross eight, in all two hundred and two; and it may be said for certain that the ancients never went so high, nor ran so great a risk, the building, as it were, combating the very heavens and exalting itself to such a height that the mountain round Florence seem on an equality with it.

His friend Donatello, with whom he had worked in youth, the friendship between them being such



that it seemed as if one could not do without the other, produced many works for Cosimo de' Medici. He employed him to make the tomb of Pope Giovanni Coscia, who was deposed by the Council of Constance, and many other works. Cosimo was so delighted with Donatello's talents that he kept him constantly working for him; and, on the other hand, Donato had so much love for Cosimo that he understood his wishes at the slightest sign. It was he who stirred up Cosimo to collect the ancient sculptures which are in the Medici Palace, and there are an immense number of ancient works restored by him. He was kinder to his friends than to himself, and when he became old and infirm had to receive succour from Cosimo and his friends.

His pupil Michelozzo Michelozzi was not like his master in this respect, for he lived in comfort all his days, and did not have to beg for help in his old age. He studied sculpture under Donatello, but in architecture made his way by himself; and, after Brunelleschi, was considered the best architect of his time, and specially clever in the convenient arrangement of dwellings, whether palaces or convents. He was treated familiarly by Cosimo, and was charged to make a model for the house or palace which is by the Via Larga beside San Giovannino, when the Magnifico decided that Filippo di Ser Brunelleschi's model was too sumptuous and magnificent, and would rather excite envy than be an ornament to the city and a comfort to himself. The model

which Michelozzo had made pleased, and it was carried out under his direction as it stands now convenient and comfortable, and with the graceful ornament which has majesty and grandeur in its simplicity. Michelozzo deserves the more praise, because this was the first house in the city built in the modern manner, and it has accommodation not only for a private citizen, as Cosimo was then, but for the most magnificent kings; and, in our time, kings, emperors, popes, and the most illustrious princes of Europe have been lodged there comfortably, bringing great praise to Cosimo's magnificent hospitality, as well as Michelozzo's skill in architecture. After the death of his father Cosimo gave himself to public affairs, with more zeal than Giovanni had done. He was an extremely prudent man, and bore himself in a manner at once grave and gentle, generous and kind. Far from engaging in anything against the Republic, he only sought to help everybody; and, by his liberality and kindness, to attach to himself a great number of the citizens.

Nevertheless, in a short time, his enemies prevailed, and Cosimo was summoned to appear before the Gonfaloniere. Several of his friends advised him not to obey, but he rejected the counsel, trusting in his innocence rather than in the mercy of the government. As soon as he arrived at the palace he was arrested; and the signoria called together the people in the piazza,

and appointed a balla of two hundred men to reform the government. Together with the question of reform was discussed what was to be done with Cosimo. Some wished to send him into exile, and others to condemn him to death. A greater number kept silence, either from pity or from fear, and this difference of opinion prevented any decision being made. There is in the tower a room called the Alberghettino, of the same size as the tower, and there Cosimo was kept, under the guard of Federigo Malavolti. Hearing the people assembling, and the noise of arms, he began to fear for his life, and especially that his personal enemies would take some extraordinary means to rid themselves of him. He therefore abstained from all food that was brought to him, and for four days took nothing but a little bread. Malavolti, perceiving his suspicions, said to him, "Cosimo, you are letting yourself die of hunger for fear of being poisoned; it is an insult to me to suppose that I would lend a hand to such an infamous thing. You have so many friends in the palace and the town that I do not think your life is in danger, but be sure that if you are to lose it they will take some other means than applying to me to commit the crime. I will never stain myself with the blood of any one, and still less with yours, for you have never offended me. Do not lose courage, then; take the food that is offered you; preserve your life for your friends and country,

and, to banish all fear, we will eat together of the same dishes." The words encouraged Medici; he threw himself with tears into Malavolti's arms, and thanked him warmly for this mark of compassion and kindness, promising him to show himself most grateful if fortune should ever give him an opportunity.

Malavolti, to give him a little distraction, invited Farganaccio, a friend of the Gonfaloniere's, to supper with him, as he was a gay, amusing man. When the meal was nearly over, Medici, who had been thinking how he could turn to account the visit of the man, with whom he was well acquainted, signed to Malavolti to go away. He, understanding his plans, pretended to be going to look for something for the supper, and left them together. Medici, after some affectionate words, gave a letter to Farganaccio, and charged him to carry it to the governor of the hospital of Santa Maria Nuova, who would give him eleven hundred ducats. He bade him keep a hundred for himself, and take the rest to the Gonfaloniere. Farganaccio accepted the commission. The money was paid, and inspired the Gonfaloniere with a more kindly feeling. Cosimo was only condemned to be exiled to Padua. The same penalty was inflicted on several others of the Medici, and Puccio and Giovanni Pucci. Cosimo appeared before the signoria on October 3, 1433. They signified to him his banishment, and exhorted him to submit if he did not wish

them to proceed to more rigorous measures against his person and his property. He received the sentence with satisfaction, and assured the signoria that wherever they chose to send him he was ready to go. He only begged them, as they had spared his life, to defend him, as no doubt there were a great number of citizens eager for his blood. He assured them that, wherever he must go to live, his person and goods should always be at the service of the Republic, the people, and the signoria. The Gonfaloniere, reassuring him, detained him at the palace till night, and then conducted him to his own house, whence, after having given him supper, he had him conveyed to the borders with a strong body of troops. Wherever he passed he was honourably received; Venice sent representatives to him in the name of the State, and he was constantly treated, not as a banished man, but as a person of importance.

Florence being left thus widowed of a citizen so great and so universally beloved, every one began to feel uneasy and disquieted, not only those who had been conquered, but those also who had conquered, and a year had scarcely elapsed after his departure when, at the end of August 1434, Niccolò di Cocco Donati was elected Gonfaloniere for the two months, and with him eight members of the signoria who were all devoted to the Medici. He summoned before his tribunal the chiefs of the opposite party, and after a short time of con-

fusion a new *balia* was proclaimed. Cosimo was recalled, with the other exiles who had gone with him, and the opposite party were banished, Rinaldo degli Albizzi, Ridolfo Peruzzi, and many others—so many, indeed, that there were few parts of Italy to which some were not sent, and many countries outside Italy were full of them, and Florence was thereby deprived of many men of worth, and also of riches and industry.

Cosimo, hearing of his recall, returned to Florence, and it seldom happens that a citizen of a State returning triumphant from a great victory is received with such demonstrations of joy by such an immense concourse of people as he was on his return from exile. The citizens as he passed along saluted him with one voice as the benefactor of his people and the father of his country.

But when he was returned, those who had recalled him, keeping no measure in their doings, thought only of how to establish their power. They proscribed not only those who were on the opposite side, but many for their riches, or on account of their relations or personal friends, and if this proscription had been accompanied with blood, it would have resembled Sulla's, though it was not entirely unstained with it, for Antonio di Bernardo Guadagni was beheaded, and four citizens who had quitted the place of banishment to which they had been condemned, and had gone to Venice, were surrendered by the Venetians, and put to death. The



conquerors published new laws and new institutions to assure their power. They gave the power of life and death to the Eight, and it was forbidden to the exiles to return at the end of the time of banishment until at least thirty-four out of the thirty-seven members of the signoria had given their consent.

When Cosimo was sent into exile, Michelozzo, who loved him greatly, remained faithful to him, and spontaneously accompanied him to Venice, and would stay with him all the while he remained there. At that place he made many designs and models for habitations, public and private, and especially, by order of Cosimo and at his expense, the library of the monastery of San Giorgio Maggiore, which was completed not only as regards the walls and seats and woodwork, but also filled with books. This was Cosimo's entertainment and amusement in his exile, from which in 1434 he returned almost in triumph, and Michelozzo with him. When Michelozzo came back, the Palace of the Signoria was threatening to fall because of some columns that were giving way. Michelozzo, being charged with the work, willingly undertook it, because he had saved a house from a similar peril in Venice. A gentleman, having a house threatening to fall, applied to Michelozzo, and, as Michael Angelo told me, he had a pillar made secretly, and taking plenty of props with him in a boat, with several skilled workmen, in one night he had propped up



the house. And thus he restored and made good all the work of the Palace in such a manner as was commended by all the city.

Now the friars of S. Dominic had been given the church of San Giorgio, but they only stayed there from the middle of July to about the end of January, for Cosimo de' Medici and Lorenzo, his brother, obtained for them from Pope Eugenius the church and convent of San Marco, where the Salvestrini monks were living, giving them in exchange San Giorgio. They then gave orders that San Marco should be rebuilt entirely, from Michelozzo's designs, very large and magnificent, and with all the conveniences that the friars could desire. It was begun in 1437, and the first part that was built was the old refectory; afterwards the tribune and the choir were built by Michelozzo in 1439. Then he made the library eighty braccia long and eighteen wide, with sixty-four benches of cypress wood, and furnished it with beautiful books. Then the dormitory and the cloister, and, in fact, all the beautiful convent, which is thought the best planned and most commodious that there is in Italy, thanks to the talents and industry of Michelozzo, who brought it to a conclusion in the year 1452. It is said that Cosimo spent on this building thirty-six thousand ducats, and that while it was building he gave the friars three hundred and sixty-six ducats for their support every year. He also built from Michelozzo's designs the novices'

quarter in Santa Croce, with the chapel and the part which leads from it to the church and the stairs to the dormitory, the convenience, beauty, and decoration of which is inferior to none, which that true Magnifico Cosimo had made, and which Michelozzo carried out.

He also built, with Michelozzo as architect, the Palace of Cafaggiuolo in Mugello, reducing it to the form of a fortress, with moats round, arranging the grounds, the gardens, and fountains, and groves; and two miles from it, in a place called the Friars' Wood, he built a convent for the Barefooted Friars—a most beautiful thing. And also two miles from Florence, the magnificent and richly ornamented palace of Careggi, and Michelozzo brought the water to the fountain that is there still. He also made another magnificent palace for Giovanni, Cosimo's son, at Fiesole, on the slope of a hill, in which he showed his skill as an architect, for, in spite of the difficulty of the site, it has never given way at all. And above he built the church and convent of the Friars of San Girolamo, almost on the top of the hill.

Michelozzo also made a design and model which Cosimo sent to Jerusalem for the hospital that he built there for the pilgrims to the Holy Sepulchre. Afterwards Cosimo, having heard that there was a great want of water at Assisi, at Santa Maria degli Angeli, which caused great

suffering to the crowds, who went every year to the Pardon on the 1st of August, he sent Michelozzo there, and he conducted a spring from the side of the mountain to a fountain, and covered it with a charming, richly decorated loggia, supported on columns, bearing the arms of Cosimo; and he did some things inside the convent for the convenience of the friars, and paved the road from Madonna degli Angeli to the city.

When Cosimo, who had loved Michelozzo as one loves a dear friend, died, Piero, his son, made to his memory in San Miniato the chapel where is the crucifix, and in the middle of the round arch behind the chapel Michelozzo carved in bas-relief a falcon with the diamond, the badge of Cosimo. The new government, in the eight years it lasted, made itself insupportable by its violence. Cosimo, enfeebled by age and ill-health, could not take part in public affairs as he had been used to do, and in 1464 his illness ended in death. He was regretted both by his friends and his enemies. Those who did not love him feared that after his death the rapacity of the men in power would have no bridle. It was not known until after his death to what a point he had carried his generosity. There was not a citizen of any importance to whom he had not lent great sums of money, often without being asked. As soon as he heard of any one being in difficulties, he came to his aid. His magnificence



THE ANGEL WITH THE SWORD.

*(After part of the painting by Botticelli (?), now in the Accademia, Florence.)*



appeared in the number of buildings raised at his expense. Although his palaces and his expenditure were such as suited a sovereign, and he was looked upon as a prince in Florence, he knew how to moderate his splendour by prudence, and keep within the bounds of modesty proper to the citizen of a republic. His manners, his conversation, his life at home, his equipages, the connections he formed, were all such as agreed with a simple private person. He knew that the splendour which strikes the eye constantly excites envy, and he could cover his greatness with a wise moderation. He did not marry his children into princely families. Nobody of his time among princes or in republics showed as much intelligence as he. Thence it came that, in spite of the vicissitudes of fortune and the extreme versatility of his fellow-citizens, he was able to govern the State for thirty-one years.

He was born in 1389, on SS. Cosimo and Damiano's Day. The first part of his life was full of trouble, notably his arrest, exile, and peril of death. At the Council of Constance, to which he went with Pope John, he was in great danger, and, after the Pope's fall, was forced to flee in disguise to escape with his life. But after his fortieth year he became very fortunate, so that not only those who worked with him in public affairs, but also those who managed his money matters all through Europe shared his prosperity.



This was the source of the excessive riches of many families in Florence, and all who depended on his counsel and well-being grew affluent. Although he spent continually on church-building and almsgiving, yet he sometimes lamented to his friends that he had never been able to spend so much for the glory of God that he could write Him down in his books as his debtor. He was a man of ordinary height, olive in complexion, and of a venerable appearance. He was not a man of learning, but very eloquent and full of a natural prudence, very ready to help his friends, and full of pity for the poor; his conversation was sensible, he was cautious in planning, rapid in execution. He was very acute and forcible in his words, and many of his sayings are remembered. He was a lover and patron of learned men, and it was he who brought to Florence Argiropolo, a Greek, the most learned man of his time, that he might teach the Florentine youth the Greek language. He also had in his house Marsilio Ficino, the second father of the Platonic philosophy, whom he greatly loved; and that he might follow the study of letters more comfortably he gave him a property near his house at Careggi.

He had some heavy troubles at the end of his life, for of the two sons that he had (Piero and Giovanni) the one on whom he most relied, Giovanni, died, Piero being left, who was sickly, and from his bodily infirmities unfit for public or



private business. And passing through his house after his son's death, he said, sighing, "It is too large a house for so small a family."

It also troubled him that he had not added any acquisition to the Florentine State, and he was vexed that he had been deceived in Francesco Sforza, who had promised to help in the Lucca war. It distressed him too that he could not, from bodily infirmity, conduct his affairs with the same diligence, so that things went wrong, and the city was suffering from its citizens' mismanagement. All these things made his last days anxious and full of distress, yet he died full of honour; and his fellow-citizens and all the princes of Christendom mourned his death, and he was followed by all the city with great and solemn ceremony to his grave in San Lorenzo, and it was written over his sepulchre by public decree that he was the Father of his Country.

## CHAPTER XII

### POPE SIXTUS AND THE MEDICI

THE house of Medici thus, after a long struggle, was raised to the chief place in the Florentine Republic partly by their prudence and liberality, and partly by the imprudence and avarice of their opponents. And the sixty years from 1434 to 1494, in comparison with the turbulent and tempestuous years which preceded, may be called quiet and tranquil, and infinitely more so if compared with the years succeeding, when, by the death of Lorenzo de' Medici and the infinite ambition of Lodovico Sforza, Duke of Milan, the way was opened to the foreigner and the barbarians were summoned into Italy, and every misery and calamity imaginable was endured.

But during these years the Medici suffered both from their own friends and their enemies. For Cosimo, who had made himself little less than the prince of the Republic, died in a position neither prosperous nor unfortunate at the age of seventy-five, which should be noticed, because none of his male descendants lived to be old. His son Piero, although weak in health and without his father's

prudence, had to face the unfaithfulness of his adviser Diotisalvi Nerone, the folly of Luca Pitti, the hatred of Agnolo Acciaiuoli; the excellence and independence of Messer Niccolò Soderini, and the greed and rapacity of his own set.

Pope Pius had died in 1465, and the Venetian Paul II. was elected in his room, and, as if all the States of Italy were to change their rulers, the next year Francesco Sforza, Duke of Milan, died after a reign of sixteen years, and Galeazzo his son was declared Duke. Piero de' Medici, his sickly body worn out by mental anxiety, died in his fifty-third year, and he was buried in the church of San Lorenzo near his father, with such funeral ceremonies as were fitting to a man of his position. His two sons, Lorenzo and Giuliano, gave promise of becoming very useful to the Republic, yet there was great anxiety on account of their youth. But there was in Florence one citizen far superior to the rest, Messer Tomaso Soderini, whose great influence, combined with his prudence, was acknowledged not only in Florence but by all the princes of Italy. He, after the death of Piero, was looked up to by all the city; and many of the citizens paid him court, waiting upon him in his house as if he were the head of the city; and many of the princes wrote to him. He, however, understanding his own position and that of his family, did not reply to the princes' letters, and gave the citizens to understand that it was to the Medici and not to him that they were to go.

And he assembled the heads of houses at the convent of Sant' Antonio, bringing there Lorenzo and Giuliano, and in a long speech proved that it was necessary for the peace of Florence that the family of Medici should be maintained in reputation. Lorenzo, although but a youth, spoke after him, and with such gravity and modesty that before they separated the citizens had sworn to take them as their sons and to be fathers to them, and from that time Lorenzo and Giuliano were honoured as princes of the State.

When Pope Paul died, Sixtus IV. succeeded him. He had been before known as Francesco da Savona, and was a man of very low birth, who had raised himself to be General of the Franciscans and then a cardinal. He had in his household his nephews Piero and Girolamo. Piero, who was a friar, he raised to the rank of Cardinal of San Sisto, and to Girolamo he gave the city of Furli, taking it away from Antonio Ordelaffi, whose ancestors had been princes of that city for a long time. This ambitious conduct raised him in the esteem of the princes of Italy, and every one tried to obtain his friendship. The Duke of Milan gave Girolamo his daughter Caterina to wife, with the city of Imola for a dowry, having taken it from Taddeo degli Alidosi. So Italy was pretty quiet, the princes being chiefly engaged in watching each other and securing themselves by friendships and matrimonial alliances.

But at this time the Pope, desirous to keep the lands of the Church submissive, caused Spoleto to be sacked, because by internal faction it had shown itself rebellious, and then laid siege to the Città di Castello, because it had taken part in the same rebellion. The prince of the place was Niccolò Vitellì. He had formed a close friendship with Lorenzo de' Medici, and received from him assistance, which, though it was not sufficient to save Niccolò, yet was enough to sow the seeds of enmity between Sixtus and the Medici, which afterwards produced such bitter fruit. And it would have shown itself sooner if the death of Fra Piero, the Cardinal of San Sisto, had not occurred. The cardinal had been making a tour of Italy, and had visited Milan and Venice under colour of celebrating the marriage of Ercole, Marquis of Ferrara, but really trying to see how the minds of the princes were disposed towards the Florentines. When he returned to Rome he fell sick and died, not without the suspicion that he had been poisoned by the Venetians. For they were afraid of Sixtus' power when they became aware of Piero's intentions. Sixtus IV., though he was of low birth, during his rule carried out great works worthy of perpetual fame. He may be said to have restored Rome, for he constructed so many magnificent buildings and famous churches, and what he did for splendour and magnificence was very useful to the public health, raising the ground in many

places, by which the filth was cleared away which had so encouraged the plague. He was very splendid in his ecclesiastical robes. It would take too long to describe the magnificence of the most reverend Cardinal of San Sisto, but, in short, he had the ways of one descended from a Cæsar, and was more liberal and more magnanimous than any prelate before him, very pleasant, and much liked by all the College of Cardinals, and beloved by the Roman people, full of humour and fun, and so gentle in his manners, that none ever left his presence ill content.

There was a Florentine living at Rome in the time of Sixtus IV., named Baccio Pontelli, who was taken into the Pope's service because of his skill in architecture, and employed in most of the building that that Pope undertook. It was from his design that the church and convent of Santa Maria del Popolo was built, and several of the chapels in it which were greatly ornamented, especially one built by the Cardinal di San Clemente, who employed him to erect for him a palace also in Borgo Vecchio, a much admired building. Below the rooms in the Vatican Palace that Nicholas V. had built was made the great library and the chapel in the palace, which is known as the Sistine Chapel, and has been ornamented with such beautiful paintings. He also rebuilt the hospital of Santo Spirito in Sassia, which had been burnt almost to the foundations in 1471, adding a very

long loggia, and every convenience that could be desired. And inside, along the whole length of the hospital, was painted the life of Pope Sixtus, from his birth to the building of the hospital—in fact, till the end of his life. He also built the bridge which is known by the name of the pontiff, the Ponte Sisto, which is an excellent work, Baccio having made it broad, and distributed the weight of it so well, that it is very strong and substantial. In the year of the Jubilee, 1475, several little churches were built in Rome, which may be known by the arms of Pope Sixtus, particularly Sant' Apostolo, San Pietro in Vincula, and San Sisto. Many say that San Piero a Montorio was from Baccio's design, but I cannot say with truth that I have found it proved. The church was built by the King of Portugal at the same time as the Spaniards made the church of San Jacopo. Baccio's talent was so much esteemed by the Pope that he did very little building without his advice, and when he heard that the church and convent of S. Francis d'Assisi was threatening to fall, he sent Baccio to see to it. He put up a strong buttress on the side towards the lower ground, and made that marvellous building secure. He set up on an outjutting point a statue of the Pope, who not many years before had had built in the convent certain rooms and halls which may easily be known by their magnificence and the arms of the Pope. There is one much larger than the others, which



has some Latin verses in praise of Sixtus IV., who evidently had much veneration for this holy place.

Sixtus summoned many painters to work in his palace—Cosimo Rosselli, Sandro Botticelli, Domenico Ghirlandajo, Don Bartolommeo, Abate of San Clemente, Luca da Cortona, Pietro Perugino. Sandro Botticelli he made the head of the works, and he painted in the chapel Christ tempted of the devil, Moses killing the Egyptian, and the Daughters of Jethro giving him to drink, and the sacrifices in the wilderness with fire coming down from heaven, beside some Popes in niches above the pictures. Perugino, in conjunction with Don Bartolommeo, painted the Giving of the keys to S. Peter, and the Nativity and the Baptism of Christ, beside the Infant Moses in the ark being found by the daughter of Pharaoh, while on the same side as the altar was the Assumption of the Virgin with Pope Sixtus kneeling before her. But these works were destroyed to give place to the Last Judgment of Michael Angelo in the time of Paul III. He also painted some pictures in the Borgia Tower. Luca da Cortona painted some scenes from the life of Moses, and his pictures were held by many to be the best. At that time some of the great apostles, which usually are placed over the altar of the Pope's chapel, were wanting, and to supply them Andrea del Verocchio was summoned by Pope Sixtus and received with great favour, and this work he carried out and com-

pleted with great pains and good judgment. Ghirlandajo painted the Call of Andrew and Peter, and the Resurrection, but the last has been almost entirely destroyed because it was over a door, and it became necessary to replace an architrave which was falling. But the Pope, knowing little of the matter, gave the prize to Cosimo Rosselli, for the colour so dazzled his eyes that he thought Cosimo had done much better than the others, and bade them use the best azure they could find, and touch up their pictures with gold that they might be like Cosimo's in colour and richness.

Italy was at this time divided into two factions ; the Pope and the king on one side, and the Venetians, the Duke, and the Florentines on the other, and the Pope took much pains to offend the State of Florence in everything possible. When Messer Filippo de' Medici, Archbishop of Pisa, died, the Pope gave the archbishopric to Francesco Salviati, whom he knew to be an enemy to the Medici ; and in Rome he favoured to the utmost the Pazzi family, and was cold to the Medici. The Pazzi were the most distinguished family in Florence for their riches and birth. Cosimo de' Medici had married his granddaughter, Bianca, to Guglielmo, hoping to unite the families, but without effecting his wishes. The Pazzi family did not obtain the offices and dignities which they had a right to claim, and they began therefore to consider how they could revenge themselves. Francesco dei Pazzi,

who lived chiefly at Rome, complained a great deal of their treatment to Count Girolamo, with whom he was very intimate. They, discussing the matter together, decided that it was necessary to change the government of Florence, which could only be done by the death of Giuliano and Lorenzo. They judged that the Pope and the king would readily agree if each were shown how easy the thing would be. The matter was then communicated to Francesco Salviati, the Archbishop of Pisa, and he, being ambitious and offended with the Medici, willingly joined them. Jacopo dei Pazzi, the head of the family, however, showing himself unwilling to join, the matter was laid before Giovan Battista da Monteseccò, the Pope's condottiere, and he pronounced the thing difficult and dangerous. He was, however, sent to Florence on the excuse of business, and, that he might be able to employ the authority of the Pope, he spoke with him before he set out, and was promised everything that could assist the enterprise. At Florence, however, he had interviews with Lorenzo, who received him so kindly and spoke so wisely that Giovan Battista began greatly to admire him, finding him quite a different man from what he had been told. After much consultation in Florence and communication with Rome, it was decided that Giovan Francesco da Tolentino, who was in the Pope's service, should go to the Romagna, and Messer LorenzodaCastello into his own land, and that each should hold their

troops in readiness to do whatever Francesco dei Pazzi or the Archbishop Salviati ordered them. The archbishop and Francesco, coming then to Florence, persuaded many to join the plot.

The Pope had raised a nephew of Count Girolamo to the cardinalate, and it seemed now advisable to bring him to Florence, that in his train might come certain of the conspirators. He was received by Jacopo dei Pazzi at his villa near Florence, and the conspirators invited Lorenzo and Giuliano to meet him there, planning to assassinate them, but Giuliano, either of design or by chance, did not appear; and a second invitation to a banquet in Florence he also declined. The conspirators on this met together, and decided that the attempt must not be deferred longer so many being in the secret, and they decided that it must be done in the cathedral of Santa Reparata, where the cardinal, being present, the two brothers would, according to custom, attend. Giovan Battista was chosen to assassinate Lorenzo, and Francesco dei Pazzi and Bernardo Bandini, Giuliano. Giovan Battista refused, however, to do it, saying he should never have the courage to commit such a deed in church, and, the time pressing, the work was entrusted to Messer Antonio da Volterra and to Stefano, a priest, two men most unsuited to the undertaking. The time fixed was to be the moment when the priest, who was celebrating mass, communicated, and at the same time the

Archbishop Salviati and his men were to seize the palace.

The church was full of people, and the service had begun, but Giuliano was not yet in church. Francesco dei Pazzi and Bernardo, who were entrusted with his death, went to his house to seek him, and with entreaties led him to the church. And it is a memorable thing that such hatred and such prudence could reside together in their hearts, for, as they conducted him to church, they entertained him with jokes and youthful conversation; and Francesco, pretending to embrace him, put his arms round him to see if he wore any armour or defence. The murderers were therefore ready in their places, some by the side of Lorenzo and some by Giuliano, when the appointed moment came; and Bernardo, with a short weapon prepared for the purpose, pierced Giuliano's breast, who, after a few steps, fell, and Francesco, standing over him, struck him many blows, and with such fury, that he wounded himself seriously. Messer Antonio and Stefano assailed Lorenzo, and wounded him in the throat, but he defended himself, and, either by their carelessness or his courage, their efforts proved vain. With some of his friends round him, he shut himself into the sanctuary of the church. In the midst of the tumult and commotion the cardinal clung to the altar, where he was guarded by the priests, until the signoria, when the riot had abated, conducted him to his palace, where

he remained for some time in great fear. The archbishop and those with him were seized by the Gonfaloniere and hanged.

The whole city rose in arms, and Lorenzo, accompanied by many armed men, was taken home. The palace had been retaken by the people, and those who had seized it were dead or prisoners. The name of Medici was resounding through the city, and every one, mad with anger and cruelty, were pursuing the Pazzi. Francesco, seized in his house, was dragged to the palace and hanged beside the archbishop and the others. And every one of the citizens went either armed or unarmed to the house of Lorenzo, and offered himself and his possessions to his service.

When the pontiff and the king heard of the ill success of the enterprise, they took up arms against the Florentines, and, in a short time, an army under the Duke of Calabria entered the land. But to put an end to the enmity between King Ferdinand and his city, Lorenzo departed from Florence and journeyed to Naples, and persuaded the king to be reconciled to him. Then, after no long time, peace was made also with the Pope Sixtus and the Duke of Milan.



## CHAPTER XIII

### LORENZO DE' MEDICI AND THE ARTISTS

AFTER the conclusion of the war the Florentines lived in the greatest felicity until 1492, when Lorenzo de' Medici died, for Lorenzo, when peace had been made and established by his good sense and authority, turned his attention to the prosperity of his family and his city.

Lorenzo was very unlucky in his private business affairs from the bad management of his servants, so that he gave up his mercantile occupations and devoted himself to the management of his estates as a less uncertain source of riches. And in the Prato and the Pisan districts, and in the Val di Pesa, he had possessions more like a king's than a private citizen's, for their profit and the style of their buildings and their magnificence. He then applied himself to enlarging and beautifying his city, and as there were in it many spaces without habitations, he made new streets to be filled with new houses; and that it might be possible to live quietly and securely in his states he fortified the Castle of Fiorenzuola on the heights towards Bologna; he began to restore the Poggio



Imperiale on the side towards Siena, and made it very strong ; he closed the road from Genoa to an enemy by the acquisition of Pietrasanta and Serezana, while he maintained his friends in the government of Perugia and Città di Castello by subsidies, and held himself the government of Faenza, all of which places became ramparts to his city. In these peaceful times it was one continual festival for Florence : tournaments and pageants and ancient triumphs were constantly being celebrated, his object being to keep the city prosperous, the people united, and the nobility honoured. His love to those who excelled in any kind of art was wonderful, while he extended his favour to many literary men, as Messer Agnolo da Montepulciano, Messer Cristofano Landino, and Messer Demetrio Calcondila the Greek can testify ; and the almost divine Count Giovanni Pico della Mirandola preferred to make his home in Florence rather than in any of those parts of Europe which he had traversed, attracted by the magnificent hospitality of Lorenzo. He took marvellous delight in architecture, and in music and poetry, producing many poetical compositions himself. And, that he might give opportunity to the Florentine youth to study letters, he opened a college in Pisa, to which he brought the most excellent scholars that could be found in Italy. He built a monastery for Fra Mariano da Ghinazzano, of the order of S. Augustine, because he was an excellent preacher.

Fortune and Heaven favoured him greatly, for all his undertakings succeeded. His reputation increased every day through his prudence, for he was eloquent, acute in affairs, wise in his decisions, and quick and zealous in carrying them out. He took pleasure in men of humour and satirical wit, and even in puerile jokes more than was to be expected in such a man. He was often to be seen playing in the games of his children; so that he seemed to be two persons, living a gay life and a grave one in an almost impossible conjunction.

In the time of Cosimo de' Medici there was an architect of some importance much employed by him, Francesco Giamberti. He had two sons, Giuliano and Antonio, whom he placed with Francione, a man ingenious in wood carving, who worked much for Lorenzo de' Medici. Giuliano was employed by Lorenzo on the work of fortification during the war, and, afterwards devoting himself to the study of architecture, he began the first cloister in Cestello, and made that part which is in the Ionic style, taking for his model an old marble capital which had been found at Fiesole by the bishop, Messer Lionardo Salutati, who kept it in a garden in the Via di San Gallo with other antiquities. It now belongs to the Bishop of Pistoja, and is valued both for its beauty and because there is no other exactly like it. The cloister, however, was left un-

finished, the monks not having money enough to complete it.

Lorenzo de' Medici was, however, planning a building at Pioggio a Cajano, a place between Florence and Pistoja. Francione and others had made plans and models for it, but Giuliano's was so different in form from the other, and so much more according with Lorenzo's fancy, that he ordered it to be carried into execution, and from that time gave him a regular salary. He was planning to make the vaulting of the great hall in a way which Lorenzo did not believe could be done because of the size. Giuliano, who was building a house for himself at the time in Florence, roofed his own hall in that way that he might be able to do it for the Magnifico; and he carried it out successfully. His fame, therefore, grew fast, and, at the request of the Duke of Calabria, Lorenzo permitted him to make a model for a palace to be built in Naples. But, while he was working at it, the Governor of Ostia, Bishop della Rovere, afterwards Pope Julius II., wishing to put that fortress in good repair, sent for him from Florence, and, giving him a good salary, kept him there for two years. He left therefore his brother Antonio to finish the model for the Duke of Calabria, Antonio being, for that purpose, equal to Giuliano. But Lorenzo recommended him to go and present it himself to the duke, that he might explain the

difficulties in it. He set out therefore for Naples, and was received with honour, both because the duke was astonished that the Magnifico Lorenzo had sent him in such a generous way, and from admiration at the excellence of the model, which gave so much pleasure that a beginning was made immediately. When Giuliano had been a little while in Naples, however, he asked leave of the duke to return to Florence. The king, on his leaving, presented him with some horses and rich garments, and also with a silver cup containing some hundreds of ducats, which Giuliano would not accept ; saying that he was in the service of a master who had no need of gold or silver, but he prayed the king, if he wished to give him any present or souvenir of his visit, that he would let him choose something from his stores of ancient art. The king very liberally granted his request out of love to Lorenzo, and in reward of Giuliano's service. The thing he asked for was the head of the Emperor Hadrian, which is now over the gate of the Medici garden ; also a nude woman, larger than life, and a sleeping Cupid of marble. These Giuliano presented to the Magnifico, who testified extreme pleasure, and never ceased to praise the generous artist, who refused gold and silver for his work—a thing that few would have done.

When Giuliano returned to Florence, he was warmly received by Lorenzo, who had taken it

into his head to satisfy the desires of the learned Fra Mariano da Ghinazzano of the order of the Hermits of S. Augustine, and build a convent large enough for a hundred friars outside the gate San Gallo. After many architects had prepared models, he gave the work to Giuliano. This was the cause of Lorenzo's nicknaming him Giuliano da San Gallo. Giuliano, hearing himself called on all sides by that name, said jokingly to the Magnifico: "It is your fault that they call me da San Gallo. You have lost me an ancient name, and when I think I can take precedence because of my old family, I have to go behind." Lorenzo answered that he would rather found a new house by his genius than depend for his worth upon his ancestors, an answer which satisfied Giuliano. He was carrying on this work and some other things that he was doing for Lorenzo, when they were put a stop to by the death of Lorenzo, and the building of San Gallo did not remain even in its unfinished condition long standing, for in 1530, during the siege of Florence, it was ruined and laid level with the ground, together with the houses round, for the whole piazza was once full of beautiful buildings, and now there is not a vestige to be seen of house, or church, or convent.

Il Magnifico, wishing to leave a greater memorial of himself than he had yet done, and with a view both to the public safety and also the beauty of the

place, made the fortifications of the Poggio Imperiale above Poggibonzi, on the Roman road, and for this he would employ no one but Giuliano. So he began that famous building, and carried it indeed as far as it is now, winning so much fame by it that the Duke of Milan arranged, through Lorenzo de' Medici, that he should come and build him a palace.

Andrea del Verocchio had a special delight in making casts, using a soft stone, which is found in Volterra and Siena, and other parts of Italy, which, when it is baked in the fire and then brayed in a mortar and mixed with tepid water, becomes a soft substance that you can form into any shape you like, and then hardens so that you can cast whole figures in it. Andrea used to make models of natural objects, so as to have them always before him to copy, such as hands and feet, knees, legs, arms, and the torso. Afterwards in his time it became common to take casts of the heads of those who had died, and so you can see in Florence in every house over the chimney-pieces and everywhere these portraits, so well done and natural that they are like life. And from that time this method has been followed commonly, and has given us those valuable portraits which are placed in the palace of Duke Cosimo, and this we owe no doubt to Andrea, who was the first to employ this method.

When therefore Giuliano de' Medici was assas-



sinated, and his brother Lorenzo wounded in Santa Maria del Fiore, the relatives and friends of Lorenzo, returning thanks for his escape, presented images of him to many places. Orsino, working in wax under the direction of Andrea, produced three the size of life, constructing the framework of wood and split cane interwoven, which was covered with a waxed cloth, and the folds were so well contrived that it looked like nature. The head, hands, and feet were made of thicker wax, but were hollow inside, and the features painted in oil, with the hair and such ornaments as were necessary natural and well made, so that they did not look in the least like wax figures, but very much alive. One of the three is in the church of the nuns of Chiarito, in the Via di San Gallo, in front of that crucifix which works miracles. This figure is in the very dress that Lorenzo had on when he showed himself at the window of his house, wounded in the throat and bandaged, to the people who had run there to see whether he were alive, as they hoped, resolving, if not, to avenge him. The second figure is in the "lucco," the citizen's dress peculiar to the Florentines, and is in the church of the Servi alla Nunziata, over the smaller door close by where the candles are sold. The third was sent to Santa Maria degli Angeli of Assisi, and placed in front of the Madonna, Lorenzo having paved all the street from Santa Maria to the gate of Assisi, and restored the



fountains which his grandfather Cosimo had built there.

Lorenzo employed Andrea upon the monument in San Lorenzo over the graves of Giovanni and Piero, the sons of Cosimo de' Medici. It is a coffer made of porphyry, with bronze ornaments and wreaths of leaves worked with great finish, and over it there is a grating of bronze with almond leaves and other festoons most fanciful and excellently managed. He also worked for Lorenzo a bronze boy to be placed in the fountain at the Carregi Villa. The boy is strangling a fish, and the work is really marvellous.

The cupola of Santa Maria del Fiore being finished, it was resolved that the copper ball which Brunelleschi had directed should be placed on the top should be entrusted to Andrea. He made it four braccia high and fixed it firmly with chains so that the cross could be placed on it securely; and the erection of it was celebrated with a great festival and much rejoicing of the people. It is true that it required great ingenuity and care to make it so that it could be entered from below, and to strengthen it so that the wind should not hurt it.

Andrea was a man who never rested, but was always working at something, either painting or modelling, sometimes changing from one to the other that he might not grow weary of his work. Some years before this, Cosimo de' Medici had

received from Rome a great many antique statues, and among them one which he had placed at the gate of his garden or court, which opens upon the Via de' Ginori, a very beautiful Marsyas of white marble tied to a tree to be flayed. There had come into Lorenzo's hands the head and the torso of another Marsyas, very old and still more beautiful, made of a red stone, which he wished to place beside the first, but as it was imperfect he gave it to Andrea Verocchio to supply the limbs that were wanting with pieces of red marble. He succeeded so well that Lorenzo was quite satisfied, and placed it opposite the first on the other side of the gateway. As it was a flayed Marsyas, the artist made use of some of the veins in the red marble to represent the flesh without the skin, which must have made the statue very life-like when it had its first polish.

Domenico di Tommaso del Ghirlandajo may be called one of the best masters of his time both for the value and the number of his works. He was a man born to be a painter, and, in spite of the opposition of those who brought him up, he won for himself great honour, and became the delight of the age by following his natural instinct. Having made a name for himself by many pictures in Florence, he was called to Rome by Sixtus IV. to paint in his new chapel, and returned thence with money and honour. He was employed by the Tornabuoni family in Rome, and after his return to

Florence painted for them a chapel in Santa Maria Novella with many pictures from the life of our Lady and the story of S. John the Baptist. There are in them many portraits, his master, Alesso Baldovinetti, drawn as a shaven old man in a red hood ; another in a red mantle is Domenico himself painted from a looking-glass, his pupil and brother-in-law Bastiano da San Gemignano, and his brother Davitte, which are all said by those who knew them to be very like. He introduced also a great many of the leading citizens of the time, and all the Tornabuoni family, old and young, and besides these he painted in a circle four half figures talking together, which were the most distinguished literary men of the time in Florence—Messer Marsilio Ficino, Cristofano Landino, Demetrio the Greek, and Angelo Politiano. In the Visitation of our Lady and S. Elizabeth, there are also many portraits, one of the ladies being Ginevra de' Benci, then a very beautiful girl. The third picture represents the Birth of S. John, and the fourth Zacharias, still dumb, fixing his eyes affectionately on the child, who is carried in a woman's arms, while to the question about the name he replies by writing on a tablet, "His name is John." The pictures were not all completed at his death, but were finished afterwards by his brothers, Benedetto and Davitte.

He painted in Pisa and in Lucca, and many pictures for private persons which have disappeared. Two pictures in the abbey of San Giusto, outside



ZACHARIAS NAMING HIS SON JOHN.  
(After the fresco by Ghirlandajo in the Church of Sta. Maria Novella at Florence.)



Volterra, were painted by command of Lorenzo de' Medici, because the abbey was held *in commendam* at that time by Giovanni, Cardinal de' Medici, afterwards Leo X. The munificent Lorenzo also sent him to Siena to cover the façade of the cathedral with mosaic, guaranteeing a sum of seventy thousand ducats for the work. He began it very finely, but it was left unfinished at his death, as well as the mosaic that he was engaged upon in the chapel of San Zanobi, in co-operation with Gherardo, the miniature painter. There is a mosaic from his hand over the side door of Santa Maria del Fiore, which is unequalled among modern works in mosaic. Domenico used to speak of mosaic work as painting for eternity. Bastiano Mainardi da San Gemignano was with him as a pupil, and became a skilful master in fresco. Domenico, pleased with his gentleness and usefulness, gave him his sister to wife, and so the friendship between them became something closer. Bastiano was working with him when he fell sick of a fever at Siena, which carried him off in five days at the age of forty-four. He was buried in Santa Maria Novella, with a great funeral, by his brothers and his son Ridolfo, and the greatest painters wrote to his friends lamenting the loss. Among his pupils, besides his brothers and his son, were Michael Angelo Buonarroti, Francesco Granacci, Jacopo dell' Indaco, and many others.

Jacopo, surnamed l'Indaco, was a good master



in his time, and, although he did not produce much, what he did was well worthy of praise. He was a facetious person, agreeable and very fond of amusement, and would never work if he could do anything else. He used to say it was not Christian to do nothing but work. He was very intimate with Michael Angelo, and when that greatest of artists wished to refresh himself after study and continued labour of mind and body, no one was more to his taste than Jacopo. He worked for many years in Rome, or, rather, he lived at Rome for many years, and worked very little.

Michael Angelo had been sent to school with Master Francesco da Urbino, but spent all the time he could in drawing secretly, for his father and his relations thought such occupations low and not worthy of an ancient family, and he was scolded and sometimes beaten for it. He was at that time a very close friend of Francesco Granacci, who had been placed with Ghirlandajo to learn painting; and Granacci, seeing how clever he was at drawing, used to bring him Ghirlandajo's drawings to study from, for he was at that time considered the best master, not only in Florence, but in all Italy. His desire to be an artist growing stronger daily, his father saw there was no help for it, and thought it best to get some good out of it; so, by the advice of friends, he determined to place him with Ghirlandajo. He was then fourteen years of age; and in Domenico's



book, which is still kept by the family, may be seen, in the handwriting of his father, the words, "1488, April 1st, I, Lodovico di Lionardo di Buonarota, place Michelagnolo my son with Domenico and Davit di Tommaso di Currado for three years with this agreement; that the said Michelagnolo shall be with them to learn painting, and to do such exercises as the above-named command him; and that the said Domenico and Davit shall give him in the three years twenty-four florins—that is, the first year six florins, and the second year eight florins, and the third year ten florins—in all, ninety-six lire."

Michael Angelo developed so rapidly that Domenico was greatly astonished, seeing him do things quite beyond ordinary boys; for it seemed to him that he not only surpassed the other pupils, of whom he had a great number, but that he often equalled what he the master had done. One of the boys, who was learning with Domenico, had copied with a pen some women from one of Ghirlandajo's works; Michael Angelo took the paper, and, with a thicker pen, drew the outline of one of the women as it ought to have been if correct, and it is wonderful to see the difference, and the correct judgment of a boy daring enough to correct his master's things. In the year 1550 Giorgio Vasari showed it to Michael Angelo, who recognised it, and was glad to see it again; saying, modestly, that he knew more about it when he

was a boy than now that he was old. So it happened that when Domenico was painting the great chapel in Santa Maria Novella; one day, when he was out, he set Michael Angelo to draw the scaffold, with the desks and all the furniture, and some of the boys who were working on it, and when he came back and saw the drawing he had made, he said, "This fellow knows more than I do!" and was astounded at the new manner of imitation which his own heaven-given genius had suggested at such a tender age.

Michael Angelo produced every day results more and more divine, but the first thing that made him known was a copy of an engraving of the German artist, Martin; for one of Martin's pictures, having been brought to Florence at that time, representing the Devils beating S. Antony, Michael Angelo copied it with a pen, and painted it with colours; and, in order to represent some strange form of devil, he went and bought some fish with curiously coloured scales, and displayed in the drawing he made from them such talent as won him great credit. He imitated some other things of old masters, so that they could not be distinguished, for he stained them and darkened them with smoke and other things, so that they appeared old, and then when they were placed beside the original they could not be distinguished. He did it only for the sake of getting the real thing from the hand of those whose art he admired.

Lorenzo employed the sculptor Bertoldo in his garden on the piazza di San Marco, not only as the curator of the fine pieces of ancient art which he had collected there at great expense, but chiefly because he desired greatly to create a school for painters and sculptors, and he wished that they should have as a guide and master a sculptor who had been a pupil of Donato; and although Bertoldo was so old that he could not work any more, he was none the less a master of great skill, and renowned, not only because he had cast some of Donato's works, but also for many bronzes of his own, battle pieces and other little things, in the working of which he had never found anybody in Florence to surpass him. Lorenzo, then having the greatest enthusiasm for painting and sculpture, regretted that in his time there were not many great and celebrated sculptors, while there were many painters of the greatest skill and fame; and so for this reason he desired to found a school. He went therefore to Domenico Ghirlandajo, who had many youths in his workshop, and asked him to send to his garden any who were inclined to sculpture, hoping to stir them up and give them such opportunities that they would do honour to themselves, to him, and to the whole city. Domenico therefore sent him, as his best youths, Michael Angelo and Francesco Granacci. When they came to the garden they found there young Torrigiano, who was modelling in clay as Bertoldo directed.

Michael Angelo, as soon as he saw him work, began to make some models also, and Lorenzo, seeing his eager spirit, began to hope great things from him. In a short time he began imitating in a piece of marble a head of an old faun, wrinkled and laughing, the nose of which had been destroyed; and Michael Angelo, who had never touched marble or chisel before, succeeded in imitating it so well that the Magnifico was astounded. He noticed, however, that, unlike the ancient head, he had opened the mouth and made the tongue and showed all the teeth, so, in his usual, pleasant, joking way, he said, "You ought to know that old men have not all their teeth, but have almost always lost some." Michael Angelo, in his simplicity, and from his reverence and attachment to his lord, received the advice as earnest; and, as soon as he was gone, broke off a tooth and made the gum look as if it had fallen out. He waited anxiously for the Magnifico's next visit, and he, when he came, could not help smiling at Michael Angelo's simple humility, and spoke of it to his friends. He, however, resolved to aid and favour Michael Angelo to the utmost; and, sending for Lodovico, his father, he asked him to give him to him, promising to treat him like one of his own sons. He gladly consented, and the Magnifico gave him a room in his own house, and he ate always at his table with his sons, and with the distinguished people who were always there. Michael

Angelo was then about fifteen or sixteen, and he stayed in that house four years, until the death of the great Lorenzo in '92. He supplied all his wants during this time, and gave him five ducats a month and a purple mantle; and, for his father, a post in the custom-house. Indeed, all the youths who worked in the garden had salaries, some more and some less, from this most noble and munificent citizen. The garden was full of antique statues and excellent paintings, collected because of their beauty or for study, and Michael Angelo always had the keys of it, for he was much more earnest than the others in everything, and was ever eager and ready to work.

Among the Florentines who studied in this garden and became successful artists, besides Michael Angelo, Torrigiano, and Granacci, were Giovan Francesco Rustici, Niccolò di Jacopo Soggi, Lorenzo di Credi, and Giuliano Bugiardini; and among strangers, Baccio da Monte Lupo, Andrea Contucci dal Monte Sansovino, and many others.

Andrea del Monte Sansovino was born of very poor parents, and brought up to keep cattle, and it is said of him, as of Giotto, that he used to draw all day in the sand, and make clay portraits of the cattle he was guarding. And one day, the story says, it happened that a citizen of Florence passing by saw him. It was Simone Vespucci, at that time Podestà del Monte, and when he saw

him intent on drawing and modelling, he called him to him and inquired whose son he was, and then went to Domenico Contucci, his father, and asked him to let him have him, promising to make him study till it should be seen what his natural inclinations, aided by continual work and instruction, would do. Simone brought him to Florence, and placed him with Antonio del Pollaiuolo, and he became a good master in a very few years. As he studied in the Medici garden Lorenzo sent him to build a palace for the King of Portugal.

Lorenzo took great delight in ancient cameos, and he and his son Piero made a great collection of them, especially chalcedony and cornelians bearing devices cut upon them. This caused the art to be revived in their city, and many masters worked not only at setting ancient stones, but at cutting them in a way far superior to anything that had been done hitherto. There was a young Florentine whom Lorenzo set to learn this art, and who was called Giovanni delle Corgniuolo, or of the Cornelians, because he cut them so well. Many of his cutting are to be seen, but there is one especially which should be noticed bearing the portrait of Fra Girolamo Savonarola.

There is a story told of Il Graffione, one of Alesso Baldovinetti's pupils, that Lorenzo was talking one day with him, and said: "I will have the cupola covered with mosaic inside, and the angles worked in stucco." To which Il Graffione





*Alessio Baldovinetti ?*

*Mansell*

THE VIRGIN AND CHILD  
(*The Louvre*)





replied, "You have not the masters to do it." Lorenzo answered, "We have money enough to make them." Il Graffione instantly retorted, "Eh, Lorenzo, money does not make masters, but masters make money." He was a strange whimsical person, who always ate his food on a table covered with his drawings, and never had any bed to sleep in but a box full of straw.

Lorenzo was well aware that nothing done in colour resists wind and weather like mosaic, and he therefore, being a man of spirit, who investigated ancient methods, sought to bring back into use those that had been for many years forgotten. Finding that Gherardo, a miniature painter and a sophisticated person, was trying to overcome the difficulties of mosaic, he (for he always helped those in whom he saw the germs of talent and genius) gave him great help. He put him with Domenico del Ghirlandajo, and made the directors of the works in Santa Maria del Fiore assign him work in the chapels; and Gherardo's genius profited by it so much that he would have produced marvellous work if death had not cut short his life. Gherardo had illuminated a great many books, and some for Matthias Corvinus, King of Hungary, but, upon the death of that king, Lorenzo the Magnificent bought them, as well as some others done for him by Vante and other masters in Florence, and put them among those that were being collected to form the library;

for which, afterwards, Clement VII. made the building which Duke Cosimo has now opened to the public.

When peace had been concluded in Lombardy, and all had grown quiet there, Pope Sixtus had been forced to agree to peace too. But only five days after, he died, either because his time was come, or because of the vexation caused him by signing a peace to which he was an enemy. So the pontiff who had kept Italy always in war left her at last in peace.

After some disputing, Giovanbattista Cibo, Cardinal di' Molfetta, a Genoese, was elected in his place. He took the name of Innocent VIII., and, being a man of easy nature, gentle and quiet, he persuaded all to lay down their arms. He sent for Antonio Pollaiuolo to Rome, and employed him to make his tomb. The Pope was represented sitting in the attitude of blessing, and it was placed in S. Peter's. The tomb of Pope Sixtus was placed standing alone in the chapel named after him. It was richly ornamented at great expense, and the Pope's effigy, very well done, is a recumbent figure.

Pope Innocent, though at first inclined to be hostile to the Florentines, changed in his feelings towards them, and began to show greater favour than was usual to their ambassador. Lorenzo, becoming aware of this, responded to it very gladly, aware that it would add greatly to his

reputation if he could gain the friendship of the Pope as he had that of the king. His prudence and his good fortune were acknowledged and highly esteemed by the princes of Italy, and by many beyond its borders. Matthias, King of Hungary, sent him many tokens of friendship. The Sultan sent an ambassador with presents to him. When he died in April 1492, no one ever left behind him such a name for prudence in Florence, or, indeed, in Italy, or such reason to mourn his loss. And what great ruin his death was to bring Heaven testified by many evident signs; for, to mention the chief, the pinnacle of Santa Reparata was struck by lightning, so that a great piece fell to the astonishment and terror of all.

## CHAPTER XIV

### CHARLES VIII

ITALY had never known a time of such prosperity or been in such a happy state of repose as it was in 1490 and the years immediately before and after. It had all been brought under cultivation during a time of perfect peace and tranquillity, even the most mountainous parts and the sterile districts, and its more fertile regions, not knowing yet the misery of foreign rule, were populous and abounding in wealth, embellished by the magnificence of many princes and the splendour of great nobles and beautiful cities, while the land also possessed the Majesty and Throne of Religion. There were men most skilled in the administration of public affairs ; men of genius in all the sciences, and in every noble and industrial art, were flourishing at that time ; nor were there wanting those great in military glory, for it had leaders so gifted with martial skill that they had obtained high fame among all nations.

The causes of this happy condition were various, but by common consent no small part of the praise was given to the talents and energy of Lorenzo de' Medici, citizen of Florence, but raised by his merits

above a private position to rule the affairs of a republic which was powerful rather from its position, the genius of its inhabitants, and its riches, than from the extent of its territory. Lorenzo had entered into a close connection with Pope Innocent VIII., and induced him to put no slight trust in his counsels, and this had given him no small influence in all public matters throughout Italy. And understanding that it would be very perilous to the Florentine Republic and to himself if any of the greater potentates should increase their influence, he was studying in every way to maintain the balance of power, and was exercising constant watchfulness over every occurrence, however small, lest it should prove destructive to peace. The league formed many years before between Naples, Milan, and Florence, which had been broken by many accidents, was renewed in the year 1480 for twenty-five years, and almost all the minor princes of Italy joined it.

Such was the state of affairs, and the tranquillity of Italy seemed so well founded that not only was no immediate change feared, but it was not easy to conjecture by whose advice or by what accident it could be disturbed, when in the month of April 1492 occurred the death of Lorenzo de' Medici—a death sad for his own sake, for he was only forty-four years old, sad for his country, which by his reputation for prudence, and by the part he had taken in everything excellent and honourable, was

prospering greatly, and enjoying the blessings that accompany peace ; but for the rest of Italy it was most lamentable, because his influence had been great in moderating and restraining the jealousies between Ferdinand and Lodovico Sforza.

This latter prince had raised the State of Milan to such prosperity and glory that it seemed possible a great future lay before it ; but, not content with so much good fortune, he lighted a fire so inextinguishable that not only the Sforza family, but almost all Italy fell a prey to it. Having the State entirely in his hands, he ruled it not as guardian to Giovan Galeazzo, but as the real and sole prince. He placed his own men in the fortresses ; held the duke's treasure in his own hands, required the obedience of his soldiers, disposed of the revenues, concluded as he chose all matters of war and peace, all favours were dispensed by him, the officials obeyed him ; and the ducal court was ordered in such a manner that Giovan Galeazzo and his wife, a daughter of Alfonso of Naples, could scarcely get enough food.

At this moment, when matters were thus critical between Naples and Lodovico, occurred the death of Pope Innocent, and, the cardinals entering into conclave, there were great intrigues about the election of the new Pope. It was supposed that the chances were equal between Ascanio Sforza and Roderigo Borgia, the vice-chancellor, a Spaniard. He was nephew of Pope Calixtus, who had given



him his cardinal's hat and the vice-chancellorship, and, having held this appointment also under Paul II., Sixtus, and Innocent, he had grown skilled in duplicity and craft. At last he found a way of suggesting to Ascanio the acceptance of the vice-chancellorship, with other offices, and a great sum of money; and Ascanio began to reflect that his election now was doubtful, but that, by accumulating benefices and riches, with the vice-chancellorship, in process of time he would rise to the papal chair; and so by his influence the vice-chancellor was elected, and took the name of Alexander VI. The election of such an excellent Pope, Ascanio celebrated with great feasts and wonderful spectacles, not recognising the mistake he had made. Alexander assumed the pontifical mantle with the gentleness of an ox, but he administered the office like a lion.

Beginning upon great works in Rome, he sent for Giuliano da San Gallo to come to him. Since the death of Lorenzo de' Medici all works, public or private, had been closed in Florence, and he had been working in Prato and enduring hardships and want and grief as best he might. Pope Alexander set him to restore the roof of Santa Maria Maggiore, which was falling, and to make some decorations, in which, tradition says, the first gold that arrived from America was used. But while he was working for the Pope, the Bishop della Rovere, for whom he had before repaired the fortress of Ostia, of which he was governor, having become Cardinal

di San Pietro in Vincula, set him to make a design for the palace of San Pietro in Vincula, and afterwards, desiring to make a palace in his native place Savona, sent him there to design and superintend the work. He had some difficulty about this, the Pope being unwilling to let him go until he had completed the work for him. He entrusted it, however, to his brother Antonio, and he, being a man of versatile talent, entered the Pope's service, and became a great favourite with him. He set him to work to restore and fortify the Mole of Hadrian, which is now called Castello Santo Agnolo. He made the lower towers and the moats, with the fortifications as they are now, and the work brought him so much credit with the Pope and with Duke Valentino, his son, that he was employed to make the fortress of Civita Castellana. And as long as that pontiff lived he was continually employed in building for him, and was as well rewarded as he was high in favour.

Giuliano had meanwhile been progressing in his work at Savona, but the cardinal, returning to Rome, desired that the works should be left to the workmen, and brought Giuliano with him, who was glad to come and see Antonio and the work he was employed upon.

It caused no little anxiety throughout Italy when Lodovico separated himself from the league which had maintained peace and security in the land for twelve years. Lodovico himself did not consider

how dangerous it is to use medicine more powerful than the nature of the case requires or than the patient can bear. He determined to secure himself—as he could not rely on his own strength or on the faithfulness of his Italian allies—by calling in the arms of the foreigner, and persuading Charles VIII., King of France, to attack the kingdom of Naples, to which he had claims through the ancient rights of the house of Anjou.

Nor did Charles want the inclination to acquire by force of arms the kingdom of Naples. It had been, as it were, a natural instinct in him from his childhood, and had been encouraged by those about him, who had suggested to him that this would offer an occasion for surpassing the glorious deeds of his predecessors, for that when the kingdom of Naples were once conquered, he could proceed to overthrow the empire of the Turks.

It has been the opinion of many that Lodovico himself did not wish for his own sake that the King of France should acquire the kingdom of Italy, but that his design was, after having made himself Duke of Milan, and allowed the French army to pass through Tuscany, to negotiate an agreement by which Alfonso, who had succeeded Ferdinand, should acknowledge himself a vassal of the King of France, and the Florentines be made to yield up the lands which they held in the Lunigiana, and that then the king would return to France, the Florentines being

left humiliated, and the King of Naples with lessened power and authority, while he had become Duke of Milan. Whatever the truth may be, it is certain that, although Lodovico had at first tried hard to separate Piero de' Medici from the Aragonese, he began now secretly to encourage him in the course he had taken, promising him that the King of France should not cross the mountains, or that, if he did, he should soon return without doing anything.

Pope Alexander introduced the ambassador of Charles to the council of the cardinals, and allowed him to argue before them his right to the kingdom of Naples. Secretly he showed him much honour, and, as much as he feared the King Ferdinand, who had continually employed his arms against the Roman pontiffs, so much he inclined to King Charles. But the King of Naples, when he found the war was not to be postponed, and that his ruin was fast approaching, being already feeble from age, fell sick and died. They gave him a royal funeral, and it was held certain that the death of the greatest of all Italian princes for sagacity and astuteness would make the expedition far easier for the French. Alfonso, however, concluded an alliance with the Pope, swearing obedience to him, and promising to pay yearly twelve thousand ducats to Don Goffredo, the Pope's son, and bestow upon him the title of Carinula, twelve thousand also to the Duke of

Candia, his brother, while he presented thirty thousand to the Pope to raise men to defend the States of the Church.

Alfonso also persuaded the Pope to agree to a reconciliation with the Cardinal San Pietro in Vincola; and Giuliano, having obtained assurance of safety from the Venetians and Florentines and Lodovico Sforza, went to Rome. But, finding himself surrounded by ships in the narrow entrance to Ostia, he slipped away in the silence of the night and escaped to Avignon, leaving Ostia with men and guns and provisions under the command of his brother and Fabrizio Colonna. From Avignon he went to Lyons, and was received by Charles with great honour, but his departure excited great anger in the Pope, and Alfonso. Giuliano da San Gallo accompanied him, taking with him a model of a palace, which he presented to the king at Lyons. It was very rich in ornament, and was large enough to lodge all the court. He was flatteringly received by the king, but the cardinal, receiving news that the palace at Savona was nearly finished, sent him to see it, and he remained there till it was done.

The heavenly signs and prognostications which had foretold the misery that was coming received their first fulfilment in the arrival of Charles at Vienne in Dauphiné. Yet even there the king was so moved by the fear of the difficulties and dangers before him that, after the soldiers had

set out on their march again, he sent orders to them to stop; and the giving up of the enterprise was publicly announced by many of the lords. It is thought, indeed, that it would have been so if the Cardinal San Pietro in Vincula (the cause of so many evils to Italy then before and after) had not, with great vehemence, aroused his flagging spirit, and brought back the king to his former resolution. His fiery, impetuous words so moved the king that the same day he set forth from Vienne, and came down into Italy by the Monte Ginevra Pass, reaching Asti on the 9th of September 1494, bringing with him into Italy the seeds of innumerable calamities. For with his coming not only began the fall of kingdoms, the desolation of the country, and the fall of cities and cruel slaughter, but new habits and customs, and a most sanguinary method of warfare; and our disgrace was not diminished by the valour of our conqueror, for he who brought so much evil, if endowed with the gifts of fortune, was almost entirely wanting in the gifts of nature and of mind.

The king was detained at Asti by an attack of smallpox, but he had no sooner recovered his strength than he set out with his army in spite of the bad season of the year. The young Duke of Milan, Giovan Galeazzo, lay seriously ill in his castle of Pavia. The king, passing by that city, lodged in the same castle and paid him a kind



visit. From Pavia he went to Piacenza, where the news of the duke's death reached him, and the announcement that Lodovico had declared himself constrained to assume the title and insignia of Duke of Milan, because the lords of the council (suborned by him indeed) had assured him that the greatness of the State and the difficulty of the times made it impossible for the son of Giovan Galeazzo, of the tender age of five years, to succeed his father.

There was then great perturbation everywhere, as if God had raised up the young King Charles to be an instrument of great things to His Church : many, indeed, had great expectations from him who mourned because of the shameful condition of the Church under Alexander VI. Piero de' Medici, educated and brought up in the happy times of his father, appeared every day less apt for civil life and the government of the Republic in these difficult times. In April 1493, the two brothers Lorenzo and Giovanni de' Medici, Piero's cousins in the third degree, had been arrested, and it was never known for what cause, unless it was the special favour in which they were held by the people. But whatever was the reason, they were near losing their lives. The wiser of Piero's friends saved them, but they were sent into exile, Giovanni to Trebbio, and Lorenzo to Olmo a Castello. When the king arrived, the two brothers, having agreed together beforehand, left their place of exile



by night and betook themselves to the Most Christian Court. The king came about the beginning of October with a great army into the Florentine territory, which caused the government of Florence much anxiety, and the people plucked up courage to abuse universally the rule of Piero de' Medici. He therefore made great preparation for war, but found great difficulty in obtaining money, and, applying privately to some of the citizens, found them opposed to his opinion. In despair he determined to leave Florence and throw himself into the arms of the king, following the example of his father with the King of Naples. At the head of an honourable embassy, therefore, he proceeded to meet the king at Pontremoli, and, having left the other ambassadors behind, he offered the king, as if of his own will, Serazana and Pietrasanta, strong and well fortified places, which had been prepared to defend Florence against her enemies. Piero was received warmly by the king for his liberality, and the fortresses were surrendered by the authority of Piero alone without waiting for the letters of the Signory as the laws require. When this was heard at Florence, it caused great anxiety and much anger against Piero. Five men, among whom was Fra Girolamo Savonarola, were sent to the king and had a gracious audience of him, but Piero, having preoccupied his mind, although the friar spoke powerfully for the Florentine people, his embassy was of little moment.

While Piero, therefore, was sojourning in Pisa, he heard that the signoria and people of Florence were conspiring against his rule: he returned to the city with the determination to seize the palace, and constrain the signoria to yield, and by means of it to take possession of the State, not according to the ancient rule of the Medici, but with the firm intention to make himself absolute prince. The attempt, however, failed; he was forced to flee, and before he reached the border he was wholly abandoned.

The people sacked the houses of many adherents of the Medici, and the portraits of the rebels of 1434, painted in the façade of the palace, were destroyed, and the house of the Pazzi restored, and Lorenzo and Giovanni de' Medici brought back from exile. They took down the "palle" from their houses, and set up instead the arms of the people, the red cross on a white field, and, dropping the name of Medici, adopted in its place the name of Popolani, as great lovers of liberty.

The city sent new ambassadors to the king to treat with him, and his Majesty came on the 17th into the city, entering by the gate at San Friano, under a rich baldachino borne by noble youths. He remained many days, and was entertained with solemn feasts and many ingenious representations, but the negotiation of the terms of agreement was conducted with difficulty, for the king began by demanding the restoration of Piero de' Medici, and announced that at his departure he would leave

his lieutenants in the city. These two proposals caused great perturbation to the Florentines, and they resolved to make every resistance to these demands. But disorders and tumults arising, they began to moderate their demands; nevertheless, until the departure of the king, they lived in much peril of outbreak. Finally the articles were signed on the 24th of November. Before the conclusion of the terms, while disputing about the money to be paid, the king, not satisfied with what the city promised, broke out in anger, "I will have the drums beat." At which words Piero di Gino Capponi, one of the syndics, with equal boldness and constancy, tearing the copy of the terms which he held in his hand, answered, "And we will ring the bells," and turning would have left the room. But the king had him called back, for he was intimate with him when he was before in France, and said laughingly, "Ah Ciappon, Ciappon, you are a bad Ciappon!" And so the terms were signed peacefully and pleasantly.

While the king sojourned in Florence, the Friar Girolamo laboured much for peace, and visited his majesty, saying that the people were much afflicted and could not endure such misery. And he bade him listen and take good heed to his counsel, saying that God had called him for the renovation of the Church, as he himself had pronounced and publicly preached four years before his coming, but that if the king proceeded in this manner, he would

not be held worthy to carry out the mysterious work, and other instruments would be raised up to carry it to completion.

The king left the city on the 28th with all his barons and men-at-arms. So great had been the insolence and overbearing behaviour of his army that they made little difference between friend and foe, and if God Himself had not brought him as a scourge to our country, he would never have had such marvellous success through his own wisdom and prudence. Piero de' Medici, who had first retired to Venice, rejoined the king, by whom he was kindly received. The people of Florence therefore were excited to new anxiety and fear, and Friar Girolamo, to quiet them, desired leave of the signoria to preach to them, which he did one morning, the women and children being excluded, that they might not fill up the place of the more intelligent. And encouraging them to keep the peace and not be afraid, he propounded to them four things:—First, the fear of God, which should tend to the reformation of manners and the management of affairs in a Christian spirit, from which they might hope for divine favour; secondly, the love of the Republic, and the laying aside of every private advantage; thirdly, a universal peace, with the pardon of all injuries, by which was to be understood the forgiveness of every crime and delinquency committed up to the time of the change of government, ex-

cept that all public debts or misused public money must be restored, but remitting any penalty to the debtors; fourthly, the consideration of making a form of government which should include all the citizens, so that no one should be able to exalt himself above the rest, as they had done in former times. And, as a model, he proposed to them the great Council of Venice, from which, however, must be taken away or added everything that was necessary to make it according to the special nature of the people of Florence. It was thought at that time that this man did not understand practical matters, but discoursed after the principles of morality, or rather of true Christian philosophy. But, in spite of the desire of many to revenge themselves, the reform of the General Council was carried on the 23rd of December. And they passed laws of amnesty for debtors and delinquents, until there were very few that had not been included in the indulgences.

Many differences among the citizens were caused by the new laws, but for some time this was concealed. More openly, however, some began to oppose the friar, and were not afraid to dispute freely about him, though they did not dare to say they did not prefer this new universal government above all others. The greatness of the war caused consternation over almost all Europe, all having thought that the forces of the Pope, Alfonso, and the Florentines would be sufficient,

with the difficulty of the Alpine passes, to withstand the French. But the events that occurred point rather to the Divine Will than to human ingenuity. Charles, to the great vexation of the Florentines, pronounced the Pisans to be freed from their yoke, and the Marzocco, the emblem of Florentine domination, was dragged about the city with shouts of "Liberty!"

Ostia was held by the Cardinal San Pietro in Vincula, the Pope's enemy, and he kept Rome short of provisions as far as he could. The Pope, however, felt himself safe in the numbers of his people until he saw Charles approaching, when he began to fear exceedingly, and, losing all his great courage, he abased himself and sent to ask the king's conditions of peace, which made the people revive from their extreme depression; and the Pope, unwillingly sending away the Neapolitan squadrons that had come to his aid, retired, anxious and trembling, into the Castle Sant' Angelo, while Charles was received into Rome, in January 1495, and was lodged in the palace of the Cardinal San Marco. There, when matters had been adjusted between the king and the Pope, they met and embraced, and the king's favourite, who had brought about the reconciliation, was created cardinal.

Affairs having been settled at Rome, once ruler of the world, Charles, left the city on the 28th, carrying with him, against the will of the Pope,



the brother of the Turkish Emperor. He was a famous man, and of great valour, and, because his people much desired his liberation, his brother paid the Pope every year forty thousand ducats to keep him safe. The winter being universally mild, Charles thought it advisable to continue his march, but, fearing the Pope's wiles, he carried with him as hostage the Cardinal Cesare of Valenza, his son. Charles, however, made his way to Naples, and was received by the fickle people with great rejoicing. Being thus in possession, the French sacked Naples, destroying all the furniture and beautiful things of the royal palace, and then falling upon the private houses, carrying destruction so far that they entered the convents where the women and girls had taken refuge, and behaved without any regard to religion, until curses were to be heard on every side; everywhere was murder and devastation, and the French yoke seemed very heavy.

But the news of the conquest of Naples spread, seeming incredible to all Europe, and disturbing even Asia, so that even Bajazet, the Turkish Emperor, and the King of Egypt began to prepare for war, and the inhabitants of coastlands and islands left their habitations and fled. But Zizim, the Turk's brother, died, through Charles' neglect, to the great loss of the Christians. Charles was raised to such a height of pride that he said the universe was under the rule of his army alone.



He sent therefore to the Pope, summoning him to give him the crown of Naples upon the payment of the tribute due. The Pope, however, and the College of Cardinals refused, and the princes of Italy, fearing the return of Charles into Lombardy, lest he should turn his arms against them, formed among them a new league, and joined with Maximilian, King of the Romans, and Ferdinand, King of Spain, for the defence of Italy and the Holy See.

Charles, hearing of it by his ambassador at Venice, began to consider anxiously how he could return safely to France. He decided to leave a strong garrison in the kingdom, and with a numerous body of troops to return unexpectedly to Rome, before the new allies had had time to collect their forces. Alexander, when he heard of his approach, left Rome with the Venetian ambassador, and went to Civita Vecchia, and thence to Perugia, intending to go to Ancona, or, if need be, to Venice. Charles, arriving in Rome and finding his plan discovered, left the city untouched, and, fearing to go to Florence because of the injury he had done to them in the matter of Pisa, went instead to that city.

The Florentines, being uncertain of his disposition toward them, lived in great anxiety, not knowing what side to take, and without union among themselves, for there were many of the Medici faction within the walls if the king inclined to

restore them. They therefore bravely decided not to receive him into their city, and it was a marvelous thing to see what great provision of arms they made to defend themselves, and the quantity of victuals they prepared, until, in fact, every boy was armed. And, not to fail in seeking the aid of Heaven, many public and private prayers were offered with singular devotion, and they brought to Florence the image of Santa Maria Impruneta, the clergy and all the religious orders following in humble and devout procession, the clergy, without pomp, and all the people, first the men and then the women, not with great gifts from the government, but pence to be distributed to the poor and needy of the parish of Santa Maria Impruneta.

## CHAPTER XV

### PIAGNONI ARTISTS

WHEN the king had departed, the Great Council having been ordered much after the Venetian model, as Pagol' Antonio Soderini had taught them, having been ambassador at Venice, proceeded in the reformation of the city, the fear of Piero de' Medici having passed away. And, in the month of August, it was ordained that a great Council Hall should be built, the old Council Hall not being large enough to contain so many people; but many of the principal citizens, not being content with this form of government, set themselves in opposition to Fra Girolamo, who was the supporter of it, and, by their influence, the Pope summoned him, under pain of excommunication, to come to Rome, writing to the signoria that if they did not make him obey, the city should be excommunicated and laid under an interdict.

But the minds of the Florentines were still powerfully moved to believe in the prophecies of the friar, and their faith and devotion increased to such a pitch that many strangers were attracted to Florence by curiosity to know future things,

and there was not room in the cathedral for the multitude of hearers, so that they had to build in the sides of it wooden seats rising like the seats of a theatre in front of the pulpit and at the entrance to the choir. These were reserved for the children, but not of less age than twelve years. These things seem as impossible to believe to those who only hear of it as it is impossible to those who saw to describe. The audience was great and marvellous, but still greater and more marvellous the effect of the preaching. It is impossible to deny that it was manifestly good, and that the season of Advent was observed with far more true abstinence and fasting than in many places, and that many laws for the punishment of vice and the reformation of manners were made, and that, either from the fear of God or the terror of these laws, life in the city was much more Christian than in the days before or after.

On the morning of the Nativity more than thirteen hundred boys and youths of eighteen years or less assembled in the cathedral, and received from the hands of two of the canons the holy sacrament with such humble and earnest devotion that the spectators, especially the strangers, were moved to tears. Fra Girolamo abstained from preaching, not to irritate his adversaries, and Fra Domenico da Pescia took his place, preaching on feast days with such devotion that he persuaded the people to turn out of their houses all the

books, Latin or in the vulgar tongue, which were evil, and all pictures and images that could inspire evil thoughts. And the boys were sent to the houses of the citizens, through all the quarters, to ask humbly and modestly for the accursed thing, and they collected a wonderful quantity of such evil figures and paintings, and false hair and ladies' ornaments, rouges and scents and such vanities, and playing cards and dice, harps and lutes and musical instruments, the works of Boccaccio and Morganti, and books of sorcery and magic. And at the carnival they made a great heap in the form of a pyramid, round which were made steps on which these things were placed, and materials for making a fire; and all the populace came to see, and, instead of masquerades and such amusements, the company of boys, having heard mass chanted in the cathedral, went to the church of San Marco, all clothed in white, with garlands of olive on their heads and red crosses in their hands, and thence returned to the cathedral and presented the alms that they had that day collected. Then they proceeded to the piazza, singing psalms and hymns, and the captains of the four quarters set fire to the erection we have described, and burnt the accursed things to the sound of the trumpet.

Nevertheless there were many who complained of the loss of things of great value, in consequence of which persecution was aroused anew against Fra Girolamo; and from the controversy and the

many disputes among the people, and famine and the want of industrial work, the city was in great trouble, and whole families of country people and strangers came flocking into the city who were suffering from great sickness, so that the hospitals were not enough to receive them, and many fell dead in the streets.

Then, in the month of May, a number of men hostile to the friar succeeded to the chief posts in the government, and many things followed in the city, not a little disgraceful, to disturb and prevent the preaching of the friar. These being spoken of in Rome, the Pope was persuaded to try and to expel the friar from the city of Florence. But this was done chiefly to turn the city to the Holy League, and for the advantage of the Medici. The Pope, preferring any other government of the city to the one which was there, constantly threatened to issue an interdict, and promised, on the other hand, to favour the city if they would give up to him Girolamo, and, when he could not obtain this, he excommunicated the friar, and the briefs were set up in certain places in Florence. Savonarola was a man of very keen intellect and profound knowledge of Holy Scripture, such as no other in our time has possessed, as is proved by his wonderful writings. He led a life more austere than his rule exacted, and his fervent sermons at San Marco attracted incredible crowds, so that he enjoyed the reputation of a saint. His

predictions of the coming of the French and the expulsion of the Medici, and many other events, had won him the favour of the people. Those who believed in the friar trusted him so completely that when magistrates were to be elected they went by night to consult him, as to an oracle; and, as nothing important was done without his advice, the Florentine Republic appeared to be his work.

While things were in this state in 1498, a rival preacher of the Minor Friars arrived, and the city was divided between the two friars. The Franciscan challenged Fra Girolamo to decide the differences between them by passing through fire unhurt, and stirred up so much discord that the government ordered the experiment to be tried. Valori, the leader of the Piagnoni, meanwhile fortified San Marco so that it could not be taken if all the city took up arms against it. The Senate then, seeing the peril into which the city was thrown, published an edict ordering all to treat Francesco Valori as a public enemy, and so he was soon killed, and all hope of defending the friar being then given up, he was arrested and imprisoned.

The same day King Charles VIII. passed away out of this life, almost suddenly, which made many consider that it was a punishment from God for having deceived the friar and all the people of Florence who had trusted in his promises.

In the end, by using the authority of the pontiff,



who was much enraged with Fra Girolamo for his zeal for the reformation of the Church and his constant protests against the rulers of it, he was brought to trial, degraded from his sacred office, and burnt. The city returned to its tranquillity, but it was long before the bitter hatred among the citizens awakened by these events died away.

Of these Piagnoni, the followers of the friar, one of the most earnest was Baccio della Porta, a man much beloved, assiduous in painting, quiet and kind by nature, God-fearing, and delighting much in listening to preaching. It was from his devout spirit that he was drawn to Fra Girolamo, and he became very intimate with him, almost living in the convent, where he had many friends amongst the friars. And so when the friar urged the people to bring the evil pictures to be burnt, Baccio brought all the studies that he had made of nude figures and burnt them; and so did Lorenzo di Credi, the son of Andrea Sciarpelloni, who had been a pupil of Andrea del Verocchio, and had as friends and companions, and also as rivals, Pietro Perugino and Lionardo da Vinci. Lionardo's manner pleasing him exceedingly, he could imitate his style better than any. When he grew old, and had amassed a sufficient sum, being one who cared more for quietness than to become rich, he took up his abode in Santa Maria Nuova, where he had a comfortable abode, and lived there till his death. He was very partial to the sect of Fra

Girolamo, and lived always as a man of honourable and pure life, showing great kindness to all whom he could help. Baccio della Porta painted a most beautiful portrait of Fra Girolamo, which was sent at that time to Ferrara, but has been brought back to the house of Filippo Salviati. When the party hostile to Fra Girolamo rose to attack him and bring him to justice, his friends, to the number of five hundred, gathered round him in San Marco, and Baccio was with them. But he was a man of little courage, or rather very timid and cowardly, and when the battle began in the convent and some were wounded and killed, he began to doubt himself greatly, and he made a vow that if he escaped from that riot he would assume the habit of the order. And so when the tumult subsided, and the friar was taken and condemned to death, Baccio went away to Prato, and became Fra Bartolomeo, a friar of S. Dominic, in that place, to the great displeasure of all who knew him, especially when they heard that he had made up his mind to paint no more.

Sandro Botticelli also became a strong partisan of the friar, and abandoned his painting, which, as he had no income of his own, brought him into the greatest distress. But he adhered obstinately to his opinions, and abstained carefully from his work, so that in old age he became so poor that but for the help of friends he would have died of hunger.

By the advice of Fra Girolamo it had been decided to build a great council chamber for the

new Grand Council in the Palace of the Signoria. The matter was considered by Lionardo da Vinci, Michael Angelo Buonarroti then young, Giuliano da San Gallo, Baccio d'Agnolo, and Simone del Pollaiuolo called Il Cronaca. After much discussion the work was given to Il Cronaca, as a man of talent and as a friend of Fra Girolamo. When a young man he had been obliged for some reason to leave Florence, and was received by his kinsman Antonio Pollaiuolo into his house at Rome, when he was working on the tombs in S. Peter's. He was much interested in everything relating to architecture, and so he began to study the beautiful antiquities of Rome, and took great delight in measuring them and making careful studies of them. He therefore soon showed how much he had profited by it, and how he could apply his knowledge to his work. When he came back to Florence, being a good hand at telling a story, he used to talk of Rome, and describe its marvels with such accuracy that he was nicknamed Il Cronaca, people saying he was as good as a history book.

Filippo Strozzi, who was generally called Old Strozzi to distinguish him from his son, was living then in Florence, and intended to leave a memorial of himself in a fine palace. Benedetto da Maiano had made a model for it, and the shell of it had been already erected when he left Florence. At that moment Il Cronaca returned, and Filippo put the matter into his hands, and, being pleased with

the designs he made for the courtyard and for the cornice which was to go round the palace, left everything to him.

Il Cronaca's cornice, of which the half only was completed, is of such singular grace that it leaves nothing to be desired. It was copied from an old one in Rome at Spogliacristo, but it was made larger according to the proportions of the palace, for Cronaca could so use others' work that it became his own, knowing how to accommodate it to the purpose which it was to serve. But while this cornice of Il Cronaca's will always be admired, the one which Baccio d'Agnolo put on the Bartolini Palace, in imitation of Il Cronaca, was found fault with, for on the top of a small, delicately proportioned façade he put a great ancient cornice, measured accurately from the front of Montecavallo, which he did not know how to fit properly, so that it looks like a great cap on the top of a little head. It is not enough for an artist to say in excuse for work that he has done, "It has been taken from the work of good masters, and measured accurately," for good judgment and a good eye are more important in such matters than all measurements.

Il Cronaca carried out the cornice then with great art, working all the stones of the palace with such finish that it does not look like a wall built of stones but as if it were all of one piece. And that everything might be in keeping, he made

beautiful iron railings, and the lamps at the corners. These were worked with wonderful skill by a Florentine smith, Niccolò Grosso Caparra. He was a most whimsical person, very self-willed, doing his work well in his way, but refusing to have anything to do with other people's wishes. He would never give anybody any credit, but always demanded an earnest of the money due, which was why Lorenzo de' Medici nicknamed him *Il Caparra* (the Pledge), and many people knew him by that name. He had put up a sign in his workshop representing some books burning ; and if any one asked him to let them have a little time in which to pay, he used to answer, " I cannot, for my books are burning, and I cannot enter my debtors' names."

They say that Lorenzo de' Medici, wanting to have some ironwork made to send abroad, that *Il Caparra's* excellent work might become known, went himself to the workshop, and found that he was busy working upon some things for poor people who had already paid him part of the price. When Lorenzo told him what he wanted done, he would not agree to do it until he had finished the work for them, saying they came first and their money was as good as Lorenzo's. He would never work for Jews, saying that their money was rotten and stank ; but he was a good religious man, though capricious and obstinate, and would never leave Florence for anything that was offered him, but lived and died there. His name ought to be

remembered, for his work indeed is unique, and he never had and never will have his equal, and this may be seen from his work in this Strozzi Palace, which Il Cronaca carried to completion.

To return to the Council Chamber. Il Cronaca carried it out with the greatest care, and showed very fine ingenuity in the construction of the roof, which I have seen copied by many to use in other places. At the request of the citizens, he made round the walls a wooden balcony, with seats as in a theatre, in which the chief men of the city sat, and in the middle of the side facing the east a higher place where the Gonfaloniere sat with the lords, and on each side were two doors, one leading into the Segreto where the ballot papers were examined, and the other into the Specchio or offices. And on the side opposite, facing the west, was an altar where mass was said, with a picture said to be from the hand of Fra Bartolomeo, and by the side of the altar the pulpit for the speaker. In the middle of the hall were benches in lines and rows for the citizens. The hall was much praised then, but time has since discovered in it the faults of being low and out of the square. However, Il Cronaca deserves every excuse for this, partly because it had to be done very quickly, the people longing to have it ornamented with pictures, and partly because no bigger hall had then been made. Afterwards Il Cronaca made the staircase six braccia wide in two flights richly ornamented. This also



was much praised, and would have been more so if it had not proved too steep. During the last years of his life Il Cronaca became so mad in the matter of Fra Girolamo, that he would talk of nothing else. As we have said above, Baccio d'Agnolo was one of those called to consider the making of the new Council Chamber. He had already been employed in many works in Florence, public and private, and had studied architecture in Rome. As he was a man who never left his workshop, it became a meeting-place for his friends, and especially for the best and greatest of our artists, and there took place especially in the winter time discussions and disputes most interesting and important. First of all was Raffaello da Urbino, then young; and after him Andrea Sansovino, Filippino, Il Maiano, Il Cronaca, Antonio and Giuliano da San Gallo, Il Granaccio, and many other youths, Florentines and strangers. Baccio had studied architecture so well, and had himself made experiments so successfully, that the most magnificent works of his time were entrusted to him. He worked upon the Council Chamber in company with Il Cronaca, making the wood-carving of the great picture which Fra Bartolomeo sketched and which Filippino painted; and also the stone ornaments of the staircase, and the marble columns and doors of the hall now called the Hall of the Two Hundred.

When the hall had been finished—and it was done, as we have said, with great rapidity—it was



decreed that Lionardo da Vinci should be employed on some public work, and Piero Soderini, the Gonfaloniere, appointed him to paint this hall. He began a cartoon in the Pope's Hall in Santa Maria Novella with the story of Niccolò Piccinino, captain of Duke Filippo of Milan, in which he drew a group of horsemen fighting for a banner, which was considered most excellent, and the work of a great master. It is said that for drawing this cartoon he invented a most ingenious apparatus, which by being tightened raised it and being loosened lowered it. But as he intended to paint on the wall in oil, he compounded a mixture to lay upon the wall so thick that, when he painted on it, it began to melt in such a way that he soon gave it up seeing it was spoilt. Piero Soderini, having a high opinion of Michel Angelo's talents, appointed him a part of this hall, and so he became a rival to Lionardo, painting a subject from the Pisan war. He had a room in the dyers' hospital at Sant' Onofrio, and there he began a very large cartoon which he would never let anybody see. It was full of nude figures, men bathing in the Arno, when they are suddenly called to arms because of an attack of the enemy. When it was finished the artists were astounded, and considered that it was the climax of art that Michel Angelo had revealed to them. And indeed, all those who studied this cartoon, as for many years it was studied, became men excellent in their art.

## CHAPTER XVI

LODOVICO MORO

MANY artists paint the architectural backgrounds of a picture only apparently with the intention of catching the eye of the observer, gilding things without reason, and doing other things quite unsuitable. Many even seem not to consider that, whatever the building represents, it should look like one a man could enter and go up the stairs and walk about in comfortably. Among those who discovered the right method in this matter were Giovanni da Valle, Costantino Vaprio, Il Foppa, Il Civerchio, Ambrogio and Filippo Bevilacqua, and Carlo—all Milanese; Faccio Bembo da Valdarno, Cristoforo Moretti of Cremona, Pietro Francesco of Pavia, and Albertino da Lodi, who, besides many other works, were employed to paint round the great court of Milan those barons in armour of the date of Francesco Sforza, duke of that city.

Il Filarete tells us in his book that Francesco Sforza gave Cosimo de' Medici a very fine palace in Milan, and that he, to show his gratitude, not only adorned it with marble and wood carvings,

but enlarged it from plans by Michelozzo. And, besides that, he had many things painted in it, and particularly, in a loggia, the life of the Emperor Trajan, in which were introduced portraits of Francesco Sforza, the Duchess Bona, and their sons, with many other great lords, from the hand of Vincenzio Foppa.

As soon as Francesco Sforza was made duke he saw to the fortifications of the gates of the city; and, as the old castle of the Giovia Gate was in ruins, he considered the question of rebuilding it on its old foundations. But the prudent prince did not wish his subjects to think he was making such a strong wall, because he did not trust them, and wanted to lay upon them a heavy yoke; he bade his friends suggest to the people that he desired to do it for an ornament to the city, and for security against their enemies. They managed it so well that the nobles and the people, understanding the duke's wish, ordered that, by the inhabitants of the quarter of every gate, men should be deputed to go and ask the duke to allow it to be rebuilt. There were, therefore, in the different quarters, meetings of the citizens and people to chose their deputies, and, among the others, one was held in the church of San Giorgio in Palazzo, at which Giorgio Piatto, a celebrated lawyer, sincere in his attachment to his native city, spoke modestly and earnestly on the gravity of the thing proposed, and the danger that might befall them

from restoring the castle, reminding them that none knew how long would be the life of the illustrious duke, nor who would succeed him. He was listened to with close attention, but, as often happens among the common people, refusing the wise counsel of the few, they follow the worse guidance, and it was decided to carry out the wish of the prince, and pray for the reconstruction of a very strong castle. It was therefore rebuilt, not as before, but larger, so that it may be indisputably asserted that it is the strongest and most superb in the universe, and it cost a million ducats. Duke Francesco Sforza, having been the Gonfaloniere of Holy Church, saw the works of Antonio Filarete in Rome, and so he sent for him to Milan to design for him an hospital for God's poor, to receive both men and women, sick or infirm, and poor innocent foundlings. The men's part is a hundred and sixty braccia each way (for it is made in the form of a cross), and the women's is like it. The width is sixteen braccia, and in the four quadrangles surrounding the cross are four courts, with loggie and porches and rooms for the use of the officials and servants of the hospital, very commodious and convenient; and on one side is a canal, in which there is flowing water for the use of the hospital, and also for turning a mill which, it may be easily imagined, is of no little use to the place. Between one hospital and the other there is a cloister eighty braccia wide, and a hundred and

sixty long, in the middle of which is the church, arranged to serve for either hospital. And to put it shortly, the place is so well arranged that I do not think there is another like it in all Europe.

According to Filarete's account, the first stone was laid, all the clergy coming in solemn procession, in the presence of Duke Francesco Sforza and Lady Bianca Maria, and all their children, the Marquis of Mantua, and the ambassador of King Alfonso of Aragon, and many other lords. There were pictures in it painted by Master Vincenzio Foppa, the Lombard, for there was no better master in the country. The Duchess Bianca built the church of S. Mary the Virgin, known as l'Incoronata, and also that named Santa Agnese, and was very liberal to holy men and to the poor.

But when Lodovico Moro had taken upon him the whole charge of the State, and the war between Milan and the Venetians was over, and it seemed as if every one had settled down to peace, there was nothing but feasting and rejoicing. The court of the princes was very magnificent, and there appeared every new fashion and every new amusement. There was continual rivalry between Minerva and Venus, and the worshippers of each strove to do honour to their faith. Minerva showed herself very propitious towards her followers, and especially towards the academy that Lodovico favoured greatly; for that munificent

prince brought the most excellent teachers from the farthest parts of Europe. There were schools of Greek learning, schools of poetry and Latin literature; the masters of sculpture were there; the most famous painters came from distant lands; the sweetest, most delicious harmonies of song and musical instruments were heard at that court. The Sforza princes spent their time going through their cities and country houses, giving fêtes and pleasure parties, jousts and tournaments and military shows.

When Giovan Galeazzo was dead, and Lodovico became duke in the year 1494, Lionardo da Vinci, because of his great reputation, was brought to Milan to play the lyre, of which Lodovico was very fond. He brought that silver instrument which he had made with his own hands, and which was shaped like a horse's head, a thing new and curious, and being larger than the ordinary instruments, it gave forth a stronger tone, so that he excelled all the other musicians. He was also the greatest improvisatore of his time. The duke, when he heard his wonderful performances, fell quite in love with his playing. He also begged him to paint an altar-piece for him, which he sent to the Emperor. He painted besides the wonderful Last Supper for the Friars of S. Dominic. The King of France afterwards wanted to carry it away to his kingdom, and tried every way, regardless of cost, to move it safely. But as it was in the wall, his Majesty was



obliged to be content with wishing for it, and it remains in Milan. There is from the hand of Fra Girolamo of the Order of S. Dominic a copy of this Last Supper—a copy perfectly astonishing. And this is worthy of mention, because, in 1566, the original from Lionardo's own hand had gone so badly that little but a great blot could be seen; and thus the piety of this good father renders testimony to the wonderful powers of the great artist. From the hands of the same friar I have seen a copy of another work of Lionardo's, in which there is a smiling woman and a young John the Baptist very well imitated. Lionardo also painted in the same refectory portraits of Lodovico, with his eldest son Massimiliano and the Duchess Beatrice with the second Francesco, who were both afterwards Dukes of Milan. It was he himself who proposed to the duke to make the bronze horse with a statue of Duke Francesco, which, however, he made so large, that it was never finished.

After Lionardo had painted the Last Supper, many tried to imitate him, such as Marco Uggioni and Cesare da Sesto, a Milanese. He had a pupil in Milan named Salai, a very beautiful and graceful youth with abundant curling hair, for whom he had a great liking. He taught him a good deal in his art, and some of his paintings in Milan were touched up by Lionardo, and, indeed, often go by his name. While he was in Milan, Giuliano da



San Gallo was also there, having been sent by Lorenzo de' Medici to show to the duke a model of a house designed by him, upon which he was immediately set to work, and together they discussed the method to be used for casting the great horse, but neither horse nor palace were brought to completion. Here also was the famous Bramante da Urbino, born in Castello Durante in the State of Urbino, of poor but worthy parents. His father seeing it was necessary that he should earn his living, and that he delighted in painting, set him while still a boy to the study of art. But as he found much pleasure in architecture, he left Castello Durante and went into Lombardy, staying now in one city, now in another, obtaining what work he could, but on buildings of no great importance, and on which no great money was spent, not having yet gained any fame or reputation. He therefore determined to go to study some notable building, and betook himself to Milan to see the cathedral. In Milan there was the artist Bramantino, many works of whom may be seen, and also a very fine book of ancient works of art drawn and measured by his hand, with the plans of many famous buildings, such as the old church of S. Ambrose, made by the Lombards, and full of sculpture and paintings in the Greek style, the old portico of the church of San Lorenzo, and the very ancient church of Santa Maria in Pertica, where now lie the French and others who fell in

the great battle of Pavia, when King Francis was taken by the army of the Emperor. He painted the façades of some houses in a manner which brought him much praise, for he was one of the first to bring the light of modern art to Milan.

Bramante, studying here, made the church of San Satiro, a very richly ornamented work, with columns within and without and a sacristy full of statues. In Milan, also, Bramante found Cesare Cesariano, reputed to be a good geometrician and a good architect, who had edited Vitruvius, and, not having obtained the remuneration he expected, became desperate and savage, and died more like a beast than a man. There also was Bernardino da Trevio, architect to the cathedral, whom Lionardo da Vinci considered a master of rare merit, though his manner in painting was rather crude and dry. The tribune of Bramante's church of San Satiro excited Bernardino's admiration so much that he imitated it in his work in the cathedral, and he gave himself up to architecture, whereas before his principal work had been painting.

He had encouraged and aided Agostino Busti, surnamed Bambaia, a sculptor, who did some things in Santa Marta, a convent of nuns in Milan, and among them (though it is very difficult to get leave to see the place) there is the tomb of Gaston de Foix, who died at Ravenna. It contains ten scenes, with figures carved with great care, the battles, victories, and captures of towns by that

great general, ending with his death and burial, and his effigy in armour, as large as life, with a calm expression, as if satisfied to die after the victory was won. But it certainly is a crime that a work which may be counted among the most wonderful of the kind should be left standing in pieces and not fixed to the wall anywhere, so that it is no wonder that some of the figures have been stolen and sold and carried away to other places.

Another Milanese living about this time was Bernardino Luini, a most delicate and very pleasing painter. There are many works of his hand in that city, and at Sarone, a place about twelve miles off, a Marriage of the Virgin, with some other pictures, worked exquisitely in fresco. But he also painted in oils, and was a most courteous gentleman, and deserves the praise of being an artist as illustrious by the excellence of his life as by the excellence of his works. He painted for a house in Milan many scenes from Ovid, all worthy of admiration.

But around the castle of Milan, at night-time, there began to appear, at the beginning of 1497, great lights, presaging the fall of the illustrious house of Sforza. And, on the 2nd of January, the Duchess Beatrice d'Este departed this life in giving birth to a dead son. By command of the duke she was buried in the church outside the Vercellina Gate, called Santa Maria delle Grazie, in a chapel constructed at an expense of fifteen thousand ducats; and there, for a week, day and

night, they celebrated masses and divine offices without the pause even of a quarter of an hour, which caused no little astonishment and admiration. And, on the anniversary of her death in 1498, the duke went to the church solemnly accompanied by the ambassadors of the great states and the feudatories of the Milanese duchy.

After this Duke Lodovico sought earnestly to effect a reconciliation between himself and King Charles of France, and it would have come about but for the death of that king. Louis of Orleans thereupon was saluted king, and, none opposing, made his entry into Paris and was crowned. Then the Venetians, sending an embassy to congratulate him, offered him their aid in recovering possession of the duchy of Milan, of which they declared him lawful heir and possessor after the death of Filippo Maria, the third duke, though it had been held in usurpation by the house of Sforza, and, being great enemies of Lodovico Sforza, they did their utmost to stir him up to the conquest of his lawful possession. The king therefore sent to the Pope Alexander, and the three leagued together to destroy the Sforza, the conditions being that the King of France should aid the Pope in conquering Imola, Forli, Pesaro, and Faenza for his son the Duke of Valentino, and he afterwards would help him to recover the kingdom of Naples. The Venetians bound themselves to remain neutral, and not assist Lodovico Sforza, on condition that

they were not interfered with in their acquisition of Cremona and the Cremonese territory.

King Louis having arranged affairs for the safety of France, sent out his army in 1499. The duke, not considering himself strong enough to oppose the enemy in the open field, determined only to defend the fortresses, hoping for succour from some quarter, or to be able to come to terms. But his projects entirely failed. The castles of Arezzo, Anone, and Valenza fell; Tortona surrendered itself before attack; Alessandria was surrounded. The duke therefore assembled a council at which were present three cardinals; for Ascanio Sforza, seeing the Pope was against them, had escaped from Rome, and Federico Sanseverino had hastened hither, and Ippolito Estense, the Archbishop of Milan, and came to the duke into the Della Torre Tower. The duke, speaking to them, prayed them all to keep faith with him, and many of the nobles bade him not fear but oppose himself courageously to his enemies, promising him unswerving faithfulness, and they gave him secretly in writing a list of fifteen of the contrary party that he might arrest them as conspirators. But this Lodovico, from too great kindness, would not do.

Then the Venetians, being allied with the French, entered the district of Gera d'Adda, but Lodovico, considering the French war more important than the Venetian, recalled his troops from that part

and sent them to the aid of Alessandria. But Galeazzo Sanseverino, seeing the defence impossible, did not await the attack of the enemy, but, escaping secretly with some of his men, took the road to Milan, and so Alessandria fell into the enemy's hands, and some soldiers set fire to some of the houses, and sacked the rest of the city, respecting nothing. Alessandria lost, Lodovico did not deceive himself any longer, but acknowledged that he had lost his State, and prepared to make his escape into Germany; and the steward of his house falling into the hands of men of the French party, and dying of his wounds, Lodovico was struck into such consternation that he knew not what to do, and indeed his death may be affirmed to be the cause of the duke's ruin. On the last of August, having sent away his treasure, 240,000 ducats, and an infinite number of pearls, he sent away into Germany his sons, Ercole, of nine years old, and Francesco, of seven, with the cardinals Ascanio and Federico, and the children bade him farewell, kissing him and weeping bitterly. Then, seeing that he had altogether lost the reins of government, he appointed four men, who should chose eight colleagues to rule the Republic, and appointed to the castle and fortress of Milan Bernardino da Corte, the ever-to-be remembered Curzio. Then he went out of the castle and visited the church of Santa Maria delle Grazie, and many thought he would leave for Como, but he returned to the



castle and spent the night in great distress. Then in the morning, collecting all the men-at-arms that were faithful to him, he mounted his horse and set out for Como, and, as he passed, the acclamations for the duke changed into cries for France. Then he came to Como, and the men of that city hearing of his coming held a council to consider whether they should receive him, but finally considering it too infamous conduct to refuse him entrance he was admitted, and, with great kindness and bitter mourning, he was conducted to the bishop's palace. But while he tarried there a canon of S. Lorenzo came to him secretly, and told him that the French were already in the suburbs, and that he had been sent to arrest him, but because of the kindness he had received from him he had come to warn him to escape. Therefore, with the utmost speed, Lodovico went on board his boat and sailed to Bellagio, and, having arrived there, held again a council with the three cardinals and his chief men. He could speak of nothing but of the ingratitude of his intimate friends. Ascanio, his brother, the cardinal, who had left Milan first with the children, asked him to whom he had committed the castle of Milan, and when he replied, to Curzio, the sagacious prelate answered, "Then you have altogether resigned the rule of Milan." Lodovico, then setting off in anxiety, came to Morbegno, Sondrio, Tirano, and Bormio, pursued by some light-armed horse under Donato



Carcano, his relation, and Francesco Trivulzio, who took Bellinzona in the name of the king.

Sforza, with his men, reached the mountain of Mombrai at night, overcome with grief and weariness, and, the weather being bad, the unfortunate prince was obliged to wait till morning in a cave, his followers, like a flock of frightened sheep, wandering about the inhospitable roads. When daylight came he went on to Lorzo, Bolsano, and Marano, where he received the news that da Corte had given over to his enemies that strongest of all castles, the castle of Milan. Leaving that place, he directed his course to Brissano, and finally to Innspruck, where the Emperor Maximilian came to visit him, and, with many condolences over the loss of his State, bade him be of good cheer and face his adverse fortune with prudence, for in a little while he would restore him to his ducal chair.

The State being conquered, the King of France came to Milan, and all the princes of Italy, except the King of Naples, came to him to do him homage, as if he had been lord of their cities, not from goodwill or spontaneously, but from fear, and indeed in the State of Milan it was impossible that he could be looked upon with more unfriendly eyes. While he was there, several times there were shouts of Duca, Duca! Moro, Moro! He stayed there a few days, and then returned to France, leaving such a feeling of hatred against him that it could hardly grow stronger.

The clay model that Lionardo da Vinci had made for the Sforza horse, and which all who saw it pronounced to be the finest thing they ever saw, was broken to pieces by the French who accompanied King Louis, and a very perfect little wax model of it has also disappeared. Bramante also left Milan, and went to Rome the year before the holy year 1500.

## CHAPTER XVII

### POPE JULIUS II

IN the years after the departure of the King Charles of France and the death of the friar, the city of Florence suffered greatly from discord and distress for money because of the expenses incurred by the wars with Pisa in 1498 and 1499, when things ended so unfortunately, and again in 1500, when the French took part in the war, but no result followed except financial ruin to the city, and more discord, and the loss of the friendship of France.

At that time a great part of Romagna had come under the rule of Duke Valentino, commonly called Cæsar Borgia, and he had in his pay the Orsini and the Vitelli, and others hostile to the city of Florence, who were constantly intriguing with the Medici. Duke Valentino showed himself very desirous to extend his rule into Tuscany, thinking he might easily make himself lord of Florence, or at least bring it under his influence by restoring Piero de' Medici.

In 1502 the city of Arezzo broke out into rebellion, and its example was followed by Cortona il Borgo San Sepolcro, and all Valdichiana. So

many rebellions aroused the citizens to the mistakes they were making, and many thought that the government needed reforming, and especially that the Gonfaloniere should hold his office for life. The proposal was laid before the council in August 1502, and carried in September, and in November of the same year Piero Soderini entered upon the office. Fortune was very favourable to him at the beginning of his rule, for first Duke Valentino, with hypocritical generosity and great cunning, invited to Sinigaglia the Orsini and Vitelluzzi, enemies of Florence, and there put them all to death, which made the city feel much safer. And then the city was still more encouraged and reassured, and Piero Soderini's work made easier, in the next August by the death of Pope Alexander himself, when the power and rule of Duke Valentino disappeared like smoke in the air or foam on the water. Not long after Piero de' Medici died also. He had followed the French fortunes, and was drowned at the passage of the Garigliano, when Monsieur de la Trémoille was defeated by Gonsalvo Fernando de Corduba, who used to be called the Great Captain. Torrigiano had been induced to give up sculpture and take to soldiering in the war in Romagna under Duke Valentino. He took part also in the Pisan war, and was with Piero de' Medici at the passage of the Garigliano, where he earned the name of "the gallant ensign."

All Rome assembled with great joy in S. Peter's after the death of Alexander VI., not being able to satisfy themselves with the sight of the dead serpent, who, in spite of his hateful treachery and horrible cruelty and licentiousness, and his unparalleled avarice (for he would sell anything, sacred or profane, and was ready at any time to poison any one for his purposes), yet had been raised to the summit of his ambition, and from his earliest youth to the end of his life had perpetual prosperity, always desiring the best of everything for himself, and getting even more than he desired.

The cardinals entered into conclave, thirty-one in number, and their very discords made them choose a new pontiff quickly, as it were, to defer the struggle a short time. They chose therefore the Cardinal of Siena, as they knew from his age and infirmities his rule must be very short. Pius III. did not deceive their hopes, dying twenty-six days after his election. The Cardinal di San Pietro in Vincula, powerful from the number of his friends, from his great reputation, and from his riches, had obtained already so many votes that his opponents did not venture to resist him, and he entered the conclave sure of being Pope. The thing was settled that very night, a thing unknown before within living memory. He assumed the name of Julius, either because Giuliano was his own name or to signify the grandeur of his aims,

or because he would not be inferior even in name to the Alexander he was succeeding.

Giuliano da San Gallo stayed at Savona at work on the cardinal's palace until it was finished. Then desiring to visit Florence, which he had not seen for a long time, he set off with the workmen to return there; but meanwhile the King of France had given Pisa her liberty, and consequently there was war between the Florentines and the Pisans. In Lucca therefore he took care to provide himself with a safe-conduct, being not a little afraid of the Pisan soldiers; but passing Altopascio he fell into their hands, and they did not care a fig for his safe-conduct, but took him prisoner, and kept him at Pisa for six months, and he had to pay a ransom of 300 ducats before he was allowed to return to Florence. The election of Julius II. was a great pleasure to him, for he had served the cardinal so long, and he hastened away to Rome, leaving Antonio behind at Florence working upon the Poggio Imperiale, on which, for the sake of greater despatch, they employed the Pisan prisoners. When the fortress of Arezzo was destroyed during the rebellion, Antonio made a model for the new, though Giuliano came on a short visit from Rome to see it and approve it. Antonio therefore became architect to all the fortifications of Florence.

Meanwhile in Rome Giuliano was treated with great kindness by the new Pope, and entrusted

with all his architectural work until Bramante came into favour. Giuliano used all his influence with the Pope to induce him to employ Michael Angelo upon the great work of his sepulchre, and gave it as his opinion that it would require that a separate chapel should be built for it, there not being room for it in S. Peter's. Many architects therefore made designs for this chapel, but as the matter was considered more, the idea was proposed, and in time adopted, of rebuilding S. Peter's itself instead of making a new chapel. At this time appeared Bramante da Castel Durante, and he had Baldassare Peruzzi, Raffaello da Urbino, and certain architects on his side. Everything fell into confusion, much time was spent in arguing, and finally the work was given to Bramante, as a man of better judgment, greater genius, and greater invention.

Upon this Giuliano in anger, thinking himself injured by the Pope, whom he had served so constantly and faithfully when he was in a lower position, and holding that he had had the promise of this great work, asked leave to resign; and though he was appointed to work together with Bramante upon other buildings, he went back to Florence, but with many gifts from the Pope. It was not many months, however, before Messer Bartolomeo della Rovere, the Pope's nephew, wrote in the name of his Holiness to urge him to return, saying it would be for his advantage to do so, but neither promises nor offers could induce him to yield, for he



considered that he had been insulted by the Pope. At last, however, orders were sent to Piero Soderini that by some means or other he must send Giuliano to Rome, because his Holiness wished to complete the fortifications of the round tower begun by Nicholas V., and those of Belvedere and of Borgo, as well as other things. And Giuliano finally allowed himself to be persuaded by Piero Soderini and returned, and was received by the Pope kindly and munificently.

At the time of Alexander VI.'s death in 1503, when Julius II. was elected, Michael Angelo was about twenty-nine years old, and had made himself some reputation by the *Pieta* and his cartoon. He was therefore summoned by Julius II. to undertake the building of his sepulchre, and twenty scudi were paid him for his journey. When he reached Rome he passed some months before he set to work upon it, but at last a design that he made for this tomb was agreed upon; and indeed it is the highest evidence of his talent, surpassing in beauty and dignity, and richness of ornament every ancient tomb of the emperors. As we have said, it was in consequence of this that the Pope grew more ambitious in his designs, and resolved to rebuild the church of S. Peter's to receive his sepulchre. Michael Angelo set to work with great zeal, and first he went to Carrara with two of his boys to get the marble, receiving for the purpose from Salviati in Florence a thousand scudi. He spent



*Michael Angelo*

*Mansell*

THE MADONNA AND INFANT CHRIST, S. JOHN THE BAPTIST AND  
ANGELS  
(National Gallery)



there eight months without any other money, and had many schemes for leaving memorials of himself there in great statues as the ancients did. Having chosen a quantity of marble, and conveyed it to the sea and thence to Rome, he filled half the piazza of S. Peter's round Santa Caterina and the passage which goes to the castle with it. Michael Angelo had made the room there for working the statues, and, that the Pope might come conveniently to see the work, he made a drawbridge to the entrance of the castle. And he came very familiarly; so that in time these favours gave Michael Angelo great annoyance and persecution, and excited much jealousy among the artists. Of this work Michael Angelo completed four statues, and sketched out roughly eight others. The tomb was to stand isolated so that all the four sides could be seen; it was to be twelve braccia one way and eighteen the other, so that the proportions were a square and a half. Around it were niches divided by clothed figures supporting the cornice, and at each corner was a naked captive bound, representing all the provinces subjugated by that pontiff and reduced to obedience to the Apostolic See. Other statues also bound represented the virtues and arts overcome by death, as the pontiff had been who had employed them so honourably. At the corners of the first cornice were four figures, the Active and the Contemplative Life, S. Paul, and Moses. The work was to

rise above the cornice, diminishing by degrees with a frieze of bronze and other figures and ornaments ; and on the top were to be two figures, one representing Heaven bearing a bier, with Cybele, the goddess of the earth, mourning that she was left in the world deprived of all strength by the death of this man, and Heaven was represented smiling, because the soul had passed to celestial glory. It was arranged so that you could enter by the niches, and within was an oval space like a temple, in the middle of which was the coffer to contain the dead body of the Pope. In all the work there were to be about forty statues of marble, without counting the bas-reliefs and ornamental figures and carved cornices.

Michael Angelo ordered that part of the marble should be sent to Florence, where he intended to work in summer to escape the malaria of Rome, and there he completed one side of the work, and in Rome finished with his own hands two prisoners, besides some other statues which, though they have never been surpassed, were not used in the tomb, for the captives were given to Signor Ruberto Strozzi, because Michael Angelo had been ill in his house. They were afterwards sent to King Francis. Eight statues he roughly sketched in Rome and five in Florence, and he finished a Victory standing over a captive. He finished the Moses five braccia in height ; no modern statue will ever equal it in beauty, and the same may be said

of the ancient. It was while he was working upon it that the Pope's treatment offended him, and he left Rome and returned to Florence, where he applied himself to finishing his cartoon, and as some say, thought of going to Constantinople to make a bridge from Constantinople to Pera.

The Venetians, aspiring to the rule of Romagna immediately after the death of Alexander VI., sent soldiers to Ravenna and occupied several castles in the district. Meanwhile the King of France was seeking the friendship of the Pope from fear of the Emperor and his son. Julius II., as cardinal, had been full of vast designs, and, in the days of Sixtus, Innocent, and Alexander, had often been the cause of disturbance in Italy, but when he was made Pope men said that he had laid aside his ambition. Really, however, Julius was preparing to surpass the expectations of men. He had been giving himself, contrary to his earlier disposition, to the accumulation of great sums of money, so that when he wished to kindle war he might have the sinews of war. Finding himself now pretty well supplied, he turned his thoughts to very great schemes. He knew it to be useless to attack the Venetians without the aid of France, and, not wishing that the years of his pontificate should pass uselessly, he requested the king to help him in recovering Bologna and Perugia, which had once been subject to the Apostolic See, and had fallen under the rule of tyrants. It was



chiefly the desire of glory that moved the pontiff to this enterprise, though he declared himself moved by piety and zeal for religion, and against Bologna he was incited by hatred to its prince, Giovanni Bentivoglio, because, at a time when it was not safe for him to stay at Rome, and he was residing at Cento, in his bishopric of Bologna, he had had to flee suddenly in the night, as he was told, truly or falsely, that Bentivoglio was, at the request of Pope Alexander, about to make him prisoner.

The king was much pleased at that request, thinking he would be able thus to obtain his goodwill. The Venetians had signified their intention of taking up arms for the defence of Bologna if the Pope did not yield in the matter of Faenza, but the impatient, headlong nature of the Pope made him pursue his desires through all difficulties and opposition. He therefore called together the cardinals and showed them his reasons for wishing to liberate the towns of Perugia and Bologna from their tyrants, and signified his intention of going in person. Without waiting for anything more, he left Rome with five hundred men-at-arms, having sent Antonio dal Monte to signify his coming to the Bolognese, and to command them to prepare to receive him and to lodge five hundred French lances. He proceeded slowly, having resolved not to pass Perugia until he heard that the French were coming to his help. Giampaolo



Baglione in fear went out to meet him, and, submitting himself, was received to favour, and Perugia and the Perugino were left in his hands, his sons becoming hostages for him ; and, with this agreement, the Pope entered Perugia without violence. In Perugia the Cardinal of Narbonne, in the name of the King of France, came to advise him to defer the matter of Bologna, excusing his master for not being able to send his forces from his fear of the Emperor. Though much astonished at these words, the Pope showed no intention of changing his plans, but began to hire soldiers and make great provision for war, but it was thought by many who knew that his nature was not implacable, that if Bentivoglio, who had offered by his messengers to send all his four sons as hostages, had made up his mind to come himself, like Giampaolo, some way might have been found of arranging the matter. Leaving Perugia, the Pope went to Cesena by the mountains, not being able to go by Rimini, which the Venetians had occupied. At Cesena he issued his commands to Bentivoglio to leave Bologna under the heaviest penalties, spiritual and temporal, which extended to all who adhered to him or conversed with him ; and, hearing that Chaumont was there with six hundred lances and three thousand infantry, he took them into his pay and continued his journey without delay, avoiding Faenza for the same reason as Rimini, and making his way over the

mountains, although it was a very difficult and fatiguing road. Through lands held by the Florentines, he passed over the Apennines to Imola, where he assembled his army, which, besides the infantry, numbered four hundred men-at-arms in his pay.

The Bentivogli had not ceased to make great preparations, trusting that the King of France would not give aid to their enemies, but Chaumont's coming disappointed them. Bentivoglio and his sons, who had before declared loudly their intention of defending themselves, lost courage entirely, and put themselves into the Frenchman's hands, begging him to obtain tolerable conditions for them. He therefore, when he reached Reno, three miles from Bologna, was induced to intercede with the Pope, and, by his mediation, it was agreed that Giovanni Bentivoglio and his sons, and Ginevra Sforza, his wife, should leave Bologna in safety, and settle in any place they pleased within the duchy of Milan. They were allowed to sell or remove all their goods, and were not to be disturbed in the possessions in Bologna that they held lawfully. They departed therefore with a safe-conduct on these terms, which Chaumont had obtained for them, to whom they gave twelve thousand ducats.

When the Bentivogli were gone, the people of Bologna sent to deliver up their city to the Pope and to request his absolution, entreating that he

would not permit the French to enter the city. They lodged therefore near the walls between the Gates of San Felice and Saragozza, on the canal which, being derived from the Reno River, passes through Bologna, and carries ships to Ferrara, not understanding that it was in the power of the Bolognese, by letting down a barrier where the water enters the city, to inundate all the country round, which they did, and the French, finding their artillery and baggage swamped, retired tumultuously to Reno. The Pope entered Bologna with great pomp and solemnity on the day dedicated to San Martino. Thus Bologna, to the great joy of the Bolognese, came into the power of the Church; a city counted among the most distinguished in Italy for the number of the population, the fertility of its territory, and the pleasantness of its situation. Although the Pope in creating the new magistrates preserved the name and emblems of liberty, yet he entirely reduced it to obedience to the Church, while, at the same time, he granted many exemptions and privileges intended to make the people love the ecclesiastical government.

Meanwhile three papal briefs came to the signoria in Florence commanding them to send Michael Angelo back to Rome, and finally Piero Soderini induced him to depart, with a recommendation to his brother the cardinal, and join the Pope at Bologna. His Holiness set him to

make his statue in bronze, five braccia high. The work was greatly admired for the majesty and grandeur of the attitude, the rich magnificence of the drapery, and the animation and terrible strength of the countenance. It was placed in a niche over the door of San Petronio. It is said that while he was making it, Il Francia the goldsmith, who was also an excellent painter, came to see it, having heard much of him and his works, and never having seen any. He was greatly astonished at the statue, but when he was asked what he thought of it, he answered, "The casting was excellent, and the material good." Michael Angelo, thinking he was praising the bronze rather than the artist, answered, "I owe as much to Pope Julius, who gave me it, as you do to the colour-makers who supply you," and said angrily before some Bolognese gentlemen that he was a fool. One of these gentlemen asked him which he thought was the biggest, the statue or a pair of oxen, to which he answered, "That depends on the oxen. Perhaps the Bolognese may be, but certainly our Florence ones are smaller." It took sixteen months to execute, but it was afterwards thrown down by the Bentivogli, and the bronze of it was sold to Duke Alfonso di Ferrara, who made a gun of it, which was nicknamed the Giulia, but the head was preserved. It was Giuliano da San Gallo who had suggested to the Pope the making of this statue. He afterwards accompanied the

Pope in his expedition against Mirandola, suffering much discomfort and fatigue, and after its capture he returned with the Pope to Rome. But when the mad desire to drive the French out of Italy took possession of the Pope, he set himself to deprive Piero Soderini of the government of Florence, finding him an impediment to his plans. These schemes diverted the Pope's attention from his building plans, and he grew engrossed in war. Giuliano therefore grew weary of his service, and asked leave to depart, seeing that he paid no attention to anything but the building of S. Peter's, and not much to that. The Pope answered angrily, "You think it is not easy to find Giulianos da San Gallo!" to which he replied that there was never faithful service equal to his, but that it was easy to find princes who kept their promises better than the Pope had kept his. The Pope, however, refused to let him go, saying they would talk of it another time.

Bramante meantime had brought Raffaello to Rome, and he had been set to painting the papal rooms. Giuliano seeing how much this painting pleased the Pope, and that he was considering the painting of the ceiling of the chapel of Sixtus IV., his uncle, urged him instead to employ Michael Angelo, who had now finished the statue at Bologna. The Pope was pleased with this idea, and Michael Angelo was sent for and entrusted with the ceiling of the chapel. And when Giuliano

again asked leave to depart, his Holiness, seeing he was in earnest, allowed him graciously to go back to Florence, and, blessing him, gave him 500 scudi in a purse of red satin, and told him to go home and rest.

Bramante da Urbino was as useful to the development of architecture in our century as Brunelleschi had been in an earlier. But no less useful indeed, nor less necessary, was the election to the papal chair of Julius II., a pontiff very desirous to leave behind him a great memorial of himself. It was a fortunate thing for Bramante—and for us—that he found a great prince, at whose expense he could display his genius and overcome the difficulties of architecture. Such good fortune rarely befalls great artists, and thence it came about that his works were so marvellously successful, and all who study them have such reason to be grateful to his devoted labours.

When he first came to Rome he was employed by Alexander VI. to paint in fresco his arms in the church of S. John Lateran, over the door which was opened for the Jubilee. Bramante had brought money from Lombardy, and made more in Rome, which he spent very carefully, because he wished to be able to live upon it while he devoted himself to measuring all the ancient buildings in Rome. So he went about solitary and meditating, and in no great space of time he had taken the measurements of all that were in that



city and in the country round, and so he went on doing till he came to Naples, and wherever he heard there were ancient buildings. He measured those that were at Tivoli and the Villa Adriana, and, as we shall see, made much use of it afterwards. Bramante's mind being opened in this way, the Cardinal of Naples took him into favour, and as he was wishing to rebuild the cloister of the Della Pace Friars, he gave the work to Bramante. He undertook it with a great desire of pleasing the cardinal, and also of making money, and carried it out with great industry and application. And though it was not perfect in its beauty, it brought him great reputation, for there was not many in Rome who took up the study of architecture with the eagerness and passionate earnestness that Bramante did.

Bramante in his early days served Pope Alexander VI. in the capacity of under-architect in the making of the fountain of Trastevere, and the fountain that was placed in the piazza of S. Peter's. Other works of his gained him such credit that he was considered the first architect in Rome, resolute and ready, and of great inventive powers. As soon therefore as Julius II. was elected in 1503, he employed him. It had entered that pontiff's mind to make use of the space between the Belvedere and the palace, enclosing a little valley or depression between the old papal palace and the part that Innocent VIII. had rebuilt to live in, and arranging



two corridors in this part so that it would be possible to go from Belvedere into the palace by loggie, and from the valley by means of steps in various places to go up to the level of Belvedere.

Bramante, who had an ingenious fancy and good judgment in such things, arranged it in the lower part with two storeys, first a Doric loggia like the Colosseum of Savelli, but instead of half columns he put pilasters and built it all of travertine, and over this a second stage of the Ionic order with windows, so that it came to the level of the first storey of the papal palace and of Belvedere, making a loggia more than four hundred paces on the side towards Rome, and another towards the wood, each turning so as to enclose the valley, and there he conducted all the water from Belvedere, and made a beautiful fountain. Of this design Bramante finished the first corridor leading from the palace and going to Belvedere on the Rome side, except the last loggia, which was to go above, but the part towards the wood opposite he began, indeed, but did not finish, Julius dying first and then the artist himself. It was considered such a fine design, that it was thought the ancients could not have done better. But, as I say of the second part, only the foundations remain, and it was not finished until Pius IV. brought it to completion. He made the chamber in the Belvedere which is used for ancient statues, and in his time the Laocoon was placed there, that most wonderful statue, and the

Apollo and the Venus; and afterwards the rest of the statues were placed there by Leo X., the Tiber, and the Nile, and the Cleopatra, and some others by Clement VII.; and in the time of Paul III. and Julius III. many improvements were made at great expense. But Bramante, if it had not been for some miserly underlings, would have made much more progress, for he understood building very well, and the walls of Belvedere were raised with marvellous rapidity, and such was the furious zeal of the architect and of the Pope, who desired buildings not to be built, but to spring to life, that they carried away the sand and earth by night which they had dug out in the day-time, when Bramante was there. Indeed, he let the foundations be dug with little supervision, but this carelessness was the cause that many of his works have cracked, and are in danger of falling, as this very corridor did, a piece of eighty braccia long having fallen in the time of Clement VII., which was rebuilt in the time of Paul III. There are several other ascents by stairs in the Belvedere varying according to the height of the ground, very beautiful pieces of work of the Doric, Ionic, and Corinthian orders, and carried out with consummate grace. He had made a model of the whole, which they say was a marvellous thing, and indeed it may well have been so if we judge from the beginning which we see. He made, besides, a spiral staircase rising on pillars which a horse can go up, in

which the Doric passes into the Ionic, and the Ionic into the Corinthian, rising from one to the other. This, too, was carried out with surpassing grace and with such exceeding skill that it brought him as great honour as anything that came from his hand. He took the idea from the staircase in San Niccolò at Pisa, which has been described when speaking of Niccola Pisano's works. Bramante planned to introduce into the front of the Belvedere some letters like the ancient hieroglyphics to show his skill, and to record the Pope's name and his own. He had already begun the words, *Julio II. Pont.-Maximo*, making a head of Julius Cæsar, and two arches of a bridge for the *Julio II. Pont.*, and an arc of the *Circus Maximus* for the *Max.*

The Pope laughed at it, and made him instead make the letters a braccio in size, which are still there, antique in form. He said he had seen that sort of nonsense over a door in Viterbo, where a certain Messer Francesco, an architect, had cut his own name in an architrave, making a *S. Francis*, an arch, a roof, and a tower, which stood for *Maestro Francesco, architettore*.

The Pope, admiring Bramante's skill, wished to see him prosperous, and therefore gave him the office of the *Piombo*; and he made a machine for stamping the bulls. He made innumerable models of palaces and temples for Rome and the States of the Church. The almost terrific genius of this wonder-

ful man showed itself in a very great design that he made for the restoration of the Pope's palace; and when he saw that the Pope with his power and he with his genius were in full agreement as to pulling down and rebuilding S. Peter's, he set to work with the utmost earnestness and produced an infinite number of designs, and among them one which is very admirable, and which showed the clearest understanding of the matter. It had two campaniles, one on each side of the front, as it appears on the coins that were issued under Julius II. and Leo X., made by Caradosso, the most excellent artist who ever designed a coin, as may be seen from his medal of Bramante. So the Pope resolved to begin this gigantic work, and had half of S. Peter's pulled down; and they set to work with the determination that in beauty, art, invention, and correctness of design, as well as in size and richness of ornament, it must surpass all the buildings that had been made in that city by all the rulers of the Republic, and by the art and genius of all the great masters. He proceeded with his usual rapidity, and before the death of the Pope and of Bramante, it was carried as far as the cornice, from whence spring the arches from the four pillars, and these he vaulted with marvellous celerity. He discovered, during the work, the way to make the vaulting with wooden frames carved into leaves for moulding the stucco, and he showed the way to work on the arches with move-

able scaffolding. In the part which he finished, the cornice which runs round the inside is managed with such grace that it would not be possible to improve it ; and in the capitals inside, of the form of olive leaves, and in all the Doric work outside so strangely beautiful, Bramante's terrific genius may be seen. If he had only had strength of body equal to his mind, he would certainly have done incredible things ; but this work, after his death, was pulled about by so many architects, that from the four arches which are in the tribune there is nothing left that is his. Raffaello da Urbino and Giuliano da San Gallo, with Fra Giocondo Veronese, wanted to begin to alter it, and after their death Baldassare Peruzzi, making the chapel of the King of France in the transept, altered all that part ; and under Paul III. Antonio da San Gallo changed everything ; and then Michael Angelo Buonarroti, sweeping away the different plans and superfluous expense, reduced it to such beauty and perfection that no one ever thinks of the one from whom came all the design ; though he said to me many times that he was executing the design and plan of Bramante, for that those who make the first arch of a great edifice are the authors of it.

Bramante's conception of this work seems altogether immeasurable ; he made a very great beginning, but if in such a building he had begun on a smaller scale, San Gallo and the others, even Buonarroti, would not have been able to enlarge

it, as they have succeeded in making it smaller, for Bramante had conceived the idea of a larger thing. They say that he had such a longing to see the building make progress that he pulled down a great many beautiful things, tombs of Popes, pictures, mosaics, and that therefore we have lost the very memory of the portraits of many great people, which were scattered about that church, the principal church of all Christians. He only kept the altar of S. Peter and the old tribune, and round it he made a very beautiful piece of stonework with Doric ornament, enclosing the part where the court and the ambassadors from all Christian States go when the Pope celebrates mass, which, however, was not finished at his death, but was completed by Baldassare Peruzzi.

Bramante was a very pleasant, amiable person, taking great pleasure in helping his neighbours. He was always very friendly to people of genius, and assisted them in every way in his power: as he did the famous painter Raffaello Sanzio, who was brought to Rome by him. He lived splendidly, and according to the position to which his merits had raised him. He delighted in poetry and music, and could improvise to the lyre, and he composed some sonnets if not as exquisite as they are made now, yet at least without any defects. He lived to be seventy, and his funeral was celebrated in S. Peter's in the presence of the Pope's court and all the sculptors, architects,



and painters. As we have said, it was through Bramante that Raffaello was brought to Rome. They came from the same district, and Bramante moved the Pope to employ Raffaello on the paintings on the chambers of the Vatican. His work pleased the Pope so much that he ordered all that the older masters had done there to be destroyed that Raffaello might have the credit of the whole work. Pietro Perugino had been brought to Rome by Sixtus IV., and had painted in his chapel, with other great artists, and in the Borgia Tower in the palace he had produced works which were considered extraordinary in his time. As he was old he worked slowly, and Giovan' Antonio Sodoma was entrusted with the next chamber. He made all the ornament of the ceiling, with the cornice and frieze, and some pictures fairly well painted. His Holiness, however, seeing how far Raffaello had surpassed them, ordered that neither Perugino nor Giovan' Antonio should work any more, or rather he ordered that their work should all be destroyed. But Raffaello, who was kindness and modesty itself, left standing all Perugino had done, because he was his master, and, of the madman's work, for so Giovan' Antonio was called, he only destroyed the pictures, leaving the frieze and the other ornaments, which are still round Raffaello's pictures. Pinturicchio was working in Rome when he was with Perugino, in the time of Sixtus IV.,





THE MADONNA AND CHILD.

(After the painting by Bernardino di Betto, called Pinturicchio, now in the National Gallery, London.)



and, under Innocent VIII., the Genoese Pope, he painted some rooms and loggie in the Belvedere Palace, where, to please the Pope, he painted a number of landscapes representing Rome, Milan, Genoa, Florence, Venice, and Naples, after the style of the Flemings, which, being unusual at that time, gave great pleasure. He also painted in the Pope's palace some rooms that look out on to the court of S. Peter's. Alexander VI. had set him to paint the rooms that he inhabited, and all the Borgia Tower. But, as he did not work the stucco in the way that it is done now, the ornaments have for the most part perished.

To return to Raffaello. His powers grew so in estimation, that the Pope gave him other rooms to work in; and at that time he painted in oils a portrait of Pope Julius, so true and life-like that it made one tremble to look at it, as he himself did.

Meanwhile Bramante, Raffaello's friend, and therefore no friend to Michael Angelo, induced the Pope to require from Michael Angelo the painting of the ceiling of the chapel in the palace, in memory of his uncle Sixtus. As I heard from himself, when he had done a third of it, a certain mouldiness appeared on it, a cold wind blowing from the mountains. The plaster of Rome, being made from the travertine, does not dry very quickly, and makes a dark plaster, and, in drying, gives out a salt efflorescence, which, in time, the air carries off.

Michael Angelo was in such despair that he would not go on with the work ; but, when he told his Holiness that his work was not succeeding, he sent Giuliano da San Gallo to him, who explained to him the cause of it, encouraged him to continue, and showed him how to get rid of the mouldy look. When it was about half done, the Pope, who had, with the assistance of Michael Angelo, climbed up ladders to see it, required that it should be uncovered ; being by nature hasty and impatient he could not wait until the last touches were put. All Rome went to see it, and the Pope could not wait till the scaffold was taken away. Bramante tried to persuade the Pope to have the other half done by Raffaello, but the Pope, recognising every day more the talents of Michael Angelo, desired him to go on with it. It was completed, and the scaffolding taken down, so that the Pope could sing the mass there on All Saints' Day. Michael Angelo would have liked to retouch some of it, as the old masters had often done, and to strengthen some passages of ultramarine and some ornaments of gold to give it a richer and stronger effect. He had heard the Pope say that it required this, and he wished to satisfy him ; but it would have been too long an affair to rebuild the scaffolding, and so it was left. The chapel being finished, Michael Angelo set himself anew to work upon the sepulchre, hoping to carry it out without impediment, but envious



*Raffaello*

*Anderson*

POPE JULIUS II  
(Pitti Gallery, Florence)



fortune would not permit it, for at that moment occurred the death of Pope Julius.

While Bramante was engaged on numerous works for Julius II., he was called upon to supply several glass windows for his palace. He began to inquire for the best workers in stained glass, and was told of some in France who produced marvellous things. The French ambassador, who was at the time carrying on negotiations with his Holiness, showed him a window done in one piece of white glass, with an infinite number of colours burnt into the glass. Bramante therefore wrote to France to invite artists to come to Rome, offering good terms. When Master Claudio, a Frenchman, the head of the art, heard of the offer, he persuaded one Guglielmo da Marcilla, with promises and money, to accompany him into Italy, knowing his excellent work. He had been concerned, or at least present, at the death of an enemy of some friends of his, and had been forced to escape from justice by entering the order of S. Dominic. But, though he continued in the order, he did not abandon the study of art; and, from many annoyances, and the envy and jealousy which is always rife amongst the friars, he was as glad to leave as Master Claudio was to get him to go.

They came therefore to Rome, and he changed the habit of S. Dominic into that of S. Peter. Bramante had made two windows of travertine in the



Pope's palace, in the room before the chapel which is now embellished with fine vaulting by Antonio da San Gallo, and marvellous stucco work by Perino del Vaga. These windows were executed by Master Claudio and Guglielmo, but they were spoilt in the sack of Rome, the lead being wanted for balls for the arquebuses. Many others that they executed suffered the same fate, but there is one still in the room with Raffaello's Fire, in the Borgia Tower, with some angels supporting the arms of Leo X. They executed other works in Rome, which brought them not only fame and reputation, but made them comfortable in their circumstances. But Master Claudio, who was much given to eating and drinking, which is a fatal thing in the air of Rome, fell sick of a fever, and died in six days. Guglielmo was left alone. He was a man of fine genius, and very skilled in managing works in glass, especially in so arranging the colours, that the lighter colours should come in the principal figure, and they should grow darker and darker by degrees as the figures went farther away. In this he was really excellent, and he had also good judgment in so keeping the figures isolated that they should not be confused with the landscape or buildings, and they look as if they were painted or worked in relief. He had much invention and variety in composition, made his pictures look rich, and accommodated them well to the pieces of glass which, to those who have not

a great deal of skill and experience, is very difficult. He designed his pictures so that the joints of lead or iron should accommodate themselves to the forms of the figure or the folds of the clothes, and not be noticed, or rather add a little as a pencil line would, so making a virtue of necessity. Guglielmo used only two sorts of colours for shading the glass, which was burnt in the fire; the one was filings of iron, and the other of copper. The black iron shaded clothes and hair and houses, the other from the copper, which has a tawny tint, the flesh colours. He also used a hard stone which comes from Flanders and France, which is called lapis amotica, which is of a red colour, and shades the gold; it is first crushed in a bronze mortar, and then ground with an iron instrument, mixed with copper and brass, and softened with gum, and it works divinely on glass. Guglielmo, when he came to Rome, if he was skilled in other things, had not much drawing, but he recognised his want, and gave himself to study, and his later works are very different from his first.

## CHAPTER XVIII

PIERO SODERINI

IN 1508 the Pisan Expedition was again resolved upon, and the Most Christian King and the Catholic King both sending armies to join the Florentine troops, after a four months' siege the Pisans were no longer able to resist, and were forced to surrender, though the credit fell rather to Alemanno Salviati and the other commissaries than to Piero.

Giuliano da San Gallo, ill content with the Pope's service, returned to Florence just at the time when Pisa was surrounded by the Florentine army. Piero Soderini immediately sent him to the camp to the help of the commissaries, who could not prevent the Pisans from carrying provisions into the city by the river Arno. Giuliano made a plan for a bridge of boats, but it could not be carried out till better weather; so he went again in the spring, taking with him his brother Antonio, and together they made the bridge, which was a very ingenious affair, for besides that it was constructed so that it could be raised and lowered, and so stood firm against the force of the water, he made it (as the commissaries wanted) capable

of being used for the assault of Pisa from the Arno on the sea side, with the consequence that the Pisans were forced to make terms with the Florentines, and to surrender. After the war was concluded, Piero Soderini sent Giuliano to Pisa to build the San Marco Gate, and the fortress was built in the Doric style with extraordinary celerity, by employing a great number of workmen. While Giuliano was engaged on this work, which lasted till 1510, Antonio was going over all the territory belonging to Florence, examining and repairing the fortresses and public buildings.

The Most Christian King had risen to so much greatness, and was so powerful in Italy, after he had brought down the power of S. Mark in 1509, that the Pope and the other allies, who had joined with the French to ruin Venice, began to think that, for the security of all their States, it would be better to keep Venice alive, and diminish the power of the French in Italy, and for this purpose the Pope allied himself with the King of Spain. On the other hand, the King of France demanded that the Pope should assemble a Council, and proposed Pisa as a convenient place. The Florentines were unwilling to lend it for the purpose, and required that no guard or any armed force, except what the signoria of Florence placed there, should be admitted into the city. The cardinals found themselves therefore in a great difficulty, not being able to use Pisa as they had intended, and many riots and

disorders occurred there, and the Council obtained so little credit that the King of France considered that he must fight the Pope with other weapons than spiritual or through Councils. His Holiness, leaning more to the side of the King of Spain, went on arming and collecting an army; and Florence found that she had ill-served the king, and had gravely offended the Pope, and thus divisions arose in the city. The head of the French army was Monsieur de Foix, and the captain of the army of the Church of Spain was Don Raimondo di Cardona, Viceroy of Naples; and the Cardinal de' Medici was the Pope's legate, when the two armies met at Ravenna, and the memorable battle was fought on the 11th April 1512; and Monsieur de Foix, after his great and brilliant deeds, was left dead on the field, and the Legate Cardinal de' Medici was taken prisoner by the French. But although the army of the Pope and of Spain was defeated, the victory was so disastrous for the victors, and the French lost so many of their leaders, that the Viceroy when he had rallied his men was as strong as the French; and Pope Julius, taking courage again, instead of fleeing to Rome, called the Swiss down into the duchy of Milan, and in a short time had deprived the King of France of that State. Then Pope Julius, being much offended with Florence, and especially with Piero Soderini, on account of the Pisan Council, sent his Datario to Florence to require

that they should remove Piero Soderini from the chief magistracy, reform the government, and readmit the Medici. The affairs of the Medici were therefore going favourably in Florence when the cardinal, as he was being carried prisoner to France, by the neglect of his guards as they were crossing a stream, succeeded in escaping and getting safely out of their hands. Piero Soderini did not meet fortune as sagaciously as he might and should have done. Trusting rather in the people, as he had been always used to do, he assembled the Great Council, and made a most beautiful speech in which he put himself into the hands of the people, saying that he was willing to yield to the League if they thought it best.

Meanwhile the Viceroy had advanced with his army into the Prato, expecting to find the Medici partisans stirring in the city, and while Piero Soderini was thus endeavouring to delay the decision, the Viceroy, constrained by lack of provisions, was driven to sack the Prato. The people of Florence, visiting this misfortune upon Soderini, made no effort to defend him when his enemies drove him out of the palace, and dismissed him from the government on the last day of August 1512.

They promised him his life, and he was taken secretly by night under a strong guard safely over the borders of the State. . To escape the fury of the Pope, who because of the Pisan Council desired



greatly to get him into his hands, he fled across the sea at once and took refuge in Raugia. Such was the end of the government of Piero Soderini, which had lasted nine years and ten months. The same day he was deposed by order, and Giuliano de' Medici, leaving Prato, came to Florence, and was visited by all the city with signs of the greatest joy, and especially, as should be noticed, by some of the citizens who a few days before had exclaimed loudly against the house of Medici.

The signoria being thus without their Gonfaloniere, the chief magistrate, it was ordered that a committee of about twenty citizens should plan the reform of the State and the government. There were those who wished to retain the popular government with the Great Council and a Gonfaloniere for a year, or for two at the most. Giuliano de' Medici, from his easy good-natured disposition, for he was much more like Messer Vieri than Cosimo, allowed himself to be drawn among the party who aimed at a popular government and wished to maintain the Great Council. But the spirit of the reforms much alarmed the party of the Medici, and many of them urged upon the cardinal that he must endeavour to correct the mistakes that Giuliano from his too great facility had committed. He came therefore from Prato to San Antonio del Vescovo, close to the city, and was visited by many of the citizens with whom he discussed matters with great cleverness. On the



15th of September he came to the palace, which the armed partisans of the Medici had seized, and, having everything in his hands, summoned the people, according to the old custom of the parliament, to the piazza, and at the appointed hour the signoria went into the balcony, and a *balìa* of fifty-five citizens was appointed with full powers. The magistracies being filled up, the chief power was left in the hands of Giuliano, with the cardinal, Messer Giulio and Lorenzo, and their nephew, the son of Piero, as his counsellors. The Medici formed two societies, one called the Company of the Diamond, from a Medici badge, and Giuliano was its head. The other was the Company of the Branch, from another badge, and Lorenzo was its head. The youths of similar age joined Giuliano, and the younger ones, Lorenzo. They were formed for two reasons, the one to amuse the people with processions, and fêtes, and spectacles, and the other to attach the youthful nobles to the persons of Lorenzo and Giuliano, and increase the number of their partisans.

While the Medici then were making their position secure, and buying back their property which had been sold after 1494, by virtue of a law which made it legal for them to pay back the price given and return into possession of it, and while the two companies were holding feasts and giving public entertainments, occurred the death of Pope Julius II. During his illness a conspiracy was

discovered, headed by Agostino Capponi and Pietropagolo Boscoli, for killing Giuliano and Lorenzo de' Medici in Florence, and the cardinal on the Siena road as he was going to the papal election. A list of names fell into the hands of the Medici, but, the cardinal unwilling while the papal chair was vacant to earn the character of being cruel, no one was put to death but Capponi and Boscoli, for whom no excuse could be pleaded. Niccolò Valori and Giovanni Folschi were exiled, and Niccolò Machiavelli kept in prison in Florence, but the rest were let go, until the return of the cardinal from Rome, and the matter could be further investigated. On the 21st of March the Cardinal de' Medici was chosen Pope, being then thirty-seven years of age, and took the name of Leo X. Great feasts were celebrated in Florence, for both the friends and enemies of the house of Medici were glad: the first because of the hope of benefices and good things to be obtained, and the second because of the security and peace which they thought would result. And all who had been concerned in the conspiracy were set free, and nothing more was heard about it, and if it had been possible to restore to life those who had been beheaded, it would have been done. The Soderini also were recalled from exile, as the cardinal had promised on his election, and he would have married Lorenzo to the niece of Piero Soderini, but Lorenzo and his mother would not consent

to the marriage. Twelve citizens of reputation were chosen as ambassadors to the new pontiff.

To such a height of greatness had the house of Medici attained ! In a few days Giuliano, Lorenzo, and Messer Giulio went to Rome, and consulted about the affairs of their family with the Pope ; and it was arranged that Giuliano should remain at Rome, with the title of Gonfaloniere and Captain of Holy Church, and because of his alliance with a lady of the House of Savoy, aunt of the King of France, by which he had become Duke of Nemours, he should entirely resign the government of Florence. Lorenzo returned to Florence, to rule it as his father and ancestors had done, and Messer Giulio was promoted to the archbishopric of Florence, which became vacant by the death of Messer Cosimo de' Pazzi, a few days after the Pope's election, with the hope of becoming cardinal at the first appointment of cardinals which the Pope made. But when the affairs of the Medici seemed to be thus arranged, Giuliano began to think he had made a mistake in leaving the affairs of Florence to his nephew, and Lorenzo could not content himself with having no title and being merely a citizen of Florence. He therefore went to Rome and conferred with the Pope, and returned in May 1515, resolved to make himself captain-general of the Florentines. This office therefore was bestowed upon the Gonfaloniere in the presence of the signoria, and the magistrates

and a great number of the people assembled in the piazza. So Lorenzo began to alter the old manners of his house, and to adopt different ways of dressing and conversing and of intercourse with the citizens from those that his ancestors had practised, nor would he rest content until the Pope had made him Duke of Urbino.

## CHAPTER XIX

### PUPILS OF RIDOLFO GHIRLANDAJO

WHEN Cardinal Giovanni de' Medici had become Pope Leo X., the friends and partisans of that house began to set up all over Florence the arms of the Pope carved in stone or painted in fresco. The Servi Friars therefore, wishing to give a proof of their devotion to the pontiff and his family, ordered the erection of his arms, carved in stone, on the portico of the Nunziata on the piazza, and soon after decided that they were to be adorned with grotesques by Andrea di Cosimo, and placed between a Faith and Charity. Andrea di Cosimo, knowing he could not do all the work he had to do, gave the painting of the two figures to Jacopo da Pontormo, who was then no more than nineteen years of age, and was still studying with Andrea del Sarto. He was at first afraid of undertaking a work of such importance, but, taking courage, he made some drawings for it, and took his master, Andrea del Sarto, to see them. He was much astonished at them and praised them greatly, but some say that, either from jealousy or some other reason, he never looked upon Jacopo with such a

friendly eye afterwards, and if Jacopo went to his workshop, he either found it closed or the boys jeered at him. When Andrea di Cosimo had put the gold on the arms and laid the ground, he left Jacopo to finish the rest, and he, quite carried away with the desire to win himself a name, executed it with a perfection that no experienced master could have surpassed. The friars, seeing that Jacopo did not go to the work any more, urged Andrea to uncover it. He went therefore to ask Jacopo whether he wanted to do any more to it, but did not find him, for he had shut himself up at home, altogether discontented with his work, and was making some new drawings for it. Andrea therefore took away the scaffolding and uncovered the work, and when Jacopo came in the evening, intending to destroy the whole thing and begin again, he found the scaffolding gone, and a crowd of people standing round looking at it. He went in anger to Andrea to complain of its being uncovered without his leave, explaining what he intended to do. Andrea laughed and answered, "You are wrong to complain, for I am sure if you had to do it again you would never do it so well." And, indeed, it was so beautiful that Michael Angelo, looking at it one day, and considering it was only a boy of nineteen who had done it, said, "As far as can be seen, this boy, if he lives and goes on as he is doing, will raise the art to the skies." At the carnival that year the whole

city was feasting and rejoicing over the election of Pope Leo, and the two Companies of the Diamond and the Branch gave two feasts at great expense. The Company of the Diamond charged Messer Andrea Dazzi, who was lecturing on Greek and Latin literature, to arrange a kind of triumph. And he planned something after the fashion of a Roman triumph, with three richly decorated chariots. In the first was Childhood, with a set of beautiful boys; in the second, Manhood, with persons who had done great things in the prime of life; and in the third, Old Age, with some famous men who had done great things when they were very old. Raffaello delle Vivuole, the engraver Carota, Andrea di Cosimo, and Andrea del Sarto arranged it, and to Jacopo alone was left the work of painting the chariots with scenes from the "Metamorphoses."

Signor Lorenzo, the head of the Company of the Branch (which is a branch of dry laurel putting forth new leaves), desired very much to surpass this triumph, and charged the most learned historian Nardi, who has done so much honour to our country, to make a triumph which should be double what the Company of the Diamond had done. The first of the six chariots represented the age of Saturn, with Janus holding the keys of the Temple of Peace. The second chariot bore Numa Pompilius, the second King of the Romans; the third, the Consul Titus Manlius Torquatus, in



whose time all virtue flourished in Rome. The fourth bore Julius Cæsar triumphing, and the fifth Cæsar Augustus, lord of the Universe, and the sixth, the most just of all the emperors, Trajan. And after these six came the true Triumph of the Age of Gold, with figures in relief on the chariot by Baccio Bandinelli, and most beautiful painting by Pontormo. In the midst of the chariot rose a great cloth with the map of the world, and on it lay an armed man dead, with armour all rusty, and out of his open wound came forth a child naked and gilded, representing that the Age of Gold, and the end of the Age of Iron, would be the consequence of the election of that Pope, which was also the signification of the dead Branch putting forth new leaves, or, to put it another way, Lorenzo de' Medici, now Duke of Urbino.

The part which Pontormo took in this brought him so much applause that perhaps few of his age had ever experienced the like in that city, and when later Pope Leo came to Florence, he was much employed in the decorations and scenes that were got up on the occasion. Ridolfo dello Ghirlandajo had the charge of decorating the rooms of the Pope, which were attached to the convent of Santa Maria Novella, and were the old residence of Popes in that city. He was obliged to seek the help of others for the work, and entrusted to Jacopo Pontormo the chapel in which his Holiness heard mass every morning.

Jacopo was the son of a Bartolomeo of the Carucci family, who is said to have been a pupil of Domenico del Ghirlandajo. After Domenico's death, his son Ridolfo had been under the care of his uncle David, and, being a youth of fine talent, was set to practise painting, and had every chance given him for study. He was one of those who went to copy Michael Angelo's cartoon, and distinguished himself among them, being a great favourite with them, and especially with Raffaello Sanzio, who was then staying in Florence to study art, though already a youth of great reputation. Ridolfo was also taught painting by Fra Bartolomeo di San Marco, and was so good an artist in the judgment of the best critics, that when Raffaello went to Rome he left him to finish a picture of a Madonna that he was painting. And Raffaello had not been long in Rome before he sent to persuade Ridolfo to join him there. But he was one of those who had never gone out of sight of the cupola of Santa Maria del Fiore, and could not make up his mind to live anywhere away from Florence, and so he would never accept anything that required him to go to another city.

Ridolfo had already completed some pictures that brought him reputation during his uncle David's lifetime, and the good old man was exceedingly pleased and contented, and thanked God that he had lived long enough to see the genius of Domenico revive in Ridolfo. The old man

was just preparing to go to the Jubilee in Rome, when he fell sick and died, and was buried among the Ghirlandai in Santa Maria Novella.

Ridolfo was a favourite with the Medici, and obtained many offices through their influence, and so became a citizen of importance and a member of the government. He did not disdain to make standards and banners and such things, and I remember to have heard him say that he had made the banners of the Potenze three times. In fact, every kind of work was done in his workshop, which was full of youths, each learning what he liked best. Constant rivalry and emulation among them was the cause that a great number of his pupils became very good artists: some were excellent for their portraits from life, some for their paintings in tempera, some for their frescoes, some for producing flags and standards at short notice. Ridolfo made them paint on panels and canvases, and sent the pictures to England, Germany, and Spain in great numbers, and to his great profit. Baccio Getti and Toto del Nunziata, his pupils, were sent, the one to King Francis, and the other to the King of England, who sent for them from seeing their works. Two other of his pupils stayed long with him, though the merchants tried hard to persuade them to go to Spain and Hungary, but no money would induce them to leave their native land. One of these was Antonio del

Ceraiuolo, who had been taught first by Lorenzo di Credi, and had learnt from him the art of catching likenesses, though he had not much drawing. I have seen portraits from his hand which, though they have the nose crooked, or one lip large and the other small, or some equally great inaccuracy, are yet very like the person. Many painters make portraits perfect as works of art, but not in the least resembling the persons. But when portraits are like the originals, and yet beautiful, then they are indeed works of rare value, and their authors masters who excel. The other of the two pupils of whom I was speaking was Domenico Puligo, who was far better in drawing, and his colouring very pleasant. He had a method of making the distance go away as if veiled in a sort of mist, which gives relief to the pictures and also conceals mistakes. He was a great friend of Andrea del Sarto, who used to come to his workshop. If he would have undergone the necessary labour, and not given so much time to pleasure, he would have done better; but having Andrea to help him in the drawing, he never took pains enough himself. But the pupil dearest to Ridolfo was another pupil of Lorenzo di Credi, named Michele, a youth of excellent disposition, who worked nobly and unflaggingly, and adopted Ridolfo's manner so completely that they were able to work together. Michele always looked upon Ridolfo as a father, and loved him and

was loved by him, so that he was considered as belonging to him, and was known, as he is still, by the name of Michele di Ridolfo. They therefore, working together as father and son, did an immense number of works in company.

Ridolfo at last growing old, and having married his daughters and seen his sons prosperously engaged in trade in France and Ferrara, led a cheerful, easy life; and though he was sometimes so troubled with gout that he had to stay indoors or be carried about in a sedan chair, he nevertheless bore it with patience. And he still in his old age cherished great love to art, and wished to hear about, and sometimes see, those new buildings or pictures which people were praising. And one day, when the duke was away from Florence, he had himself carried in his sedan chair into the palace where he dined, and spent the whole day in going over the palace, so changed from what he had known it that he could not recognise it, and in the evening as he left he said: "I shall die content, for I shall be able to carry the news to our artists that I have seen the dead raised, the ugly made beautiful, the old made young again." He lived to be seventy-five, and died in the year 1560. He was buried with his forefathers in Santa Maria Novella. Michele, who, as I have said, is always called Michele di Ridolfo, painted three great arches in fresco over some of the gates of Florence, and I have often worked with him in the palace

with great satisfaction. But what pleased me most about him, besides that he was a really good God-fearing man, was the kindness and affection he showed to the youths in his workshop.

## CHAPTER XX

### THE PUPILS OF RAFFAELLO

FATE carried off Pope Julius, the patron of artists and lover of everything good just when Raffaello was arousing the astonishment of all by his paintings in the stanze of the Vatican ; but when Leo X. was elected, and expressed his desire that the work should proceed, Raffaello gave thanks to Heaven that it was his fortune to meet with so great a prince, and one who inherited from his family so strong an inclination to art. He therefore took heart to continue his work, and set himself to the representation of the coming of Attila against Rome, and Pope Leo going forth to meet him at the foot of Monte Maria, and driving him away by the sole power of his benediction. In this picture S. Peter and S. Paul appear in the heavens, sword in hand, as defenders of the Church. There are a great many beautiful horses in it, and a figure in scale armour, drawn from the Trajan column. He drew from life some mace-bearers accompanying the Pope, most life-like, as are also the horses they ride and the company of cardinals, and the grooms leading the palfrey





Anderson

THE MEETING BETWEEN ATTILA AND S. LEO  
*(The Vatican)*

Raffaello



on which is mounted Leo X. himself. He painted many pictures for Naples and other towns, but he did not stop working upon the paintings he had planned for the Pope, but kept people constantly employed drawing from his designs upon the walls, while he himself overlooked the work and supplied the assistance that they required. It was not long before he opened the chamber in the Borgia Tower, in which there was a picture on every side. The ceiling having been painted by Pietro Perugino, his master, he would not have destroyed for the affection and gratitude he bore him.

Another room he ornamented with figures of the apostles and saints in niches, and employed his pupil, Giovanni da Udine, who was unrivalled in counterfeiting animals, to enrich it with portraits of all the animals in the Pope's possession—chameleons, civets, monkeys, parrots, lions, elephants, and still stranger animals. And besides embellishing the palace greatly with such grotesques and varied pavements, he began upon the stairs and loggie which Bramante had left incomplete at his death, and for which he made a wooden model, which was fuller of ornament than Bramante had intended. Raffaello made the designs, and set Giovanni da Udine over the works in stucco and the grotesques, and Giulio Romano over the figures, Giovanfrancesco of Bologna, Perino del Vaga, Pellegrino da Modena, Vincenzio da San

Gemignano, and Polidoro da Caravaggio, and many other painters, being employed upon it, and Raffaello carried it out with such perfection that he sent for the pavement from Florence, being the work of the younger Luca della Robbia.

It is impossible to imagine any large piece of work carried out to greater perfection, because Raffaello had the charge of the whole work of painting and architecture that was done in the palace. But it is said that Raffaello was so gentle that those who were building the walls did not build them solid and complete, but left apertures and empty spaces, which weakened the building so that it began to give way, and they had afterwards to be filled in. Certainly among all his singular gifts he had one most astonishing, for Heaven gave him grace to produce an effect quite contrary to the nature of us painters: that is, that the artists, not only inferior ones, but those who had it in them to become great, when they were working in Raffaello's company, lived united and in such concord that it seemed as if all evil tempers and passions died in his presence, and every vile and low thought perished out of their minds—a union never known in any time but his. And this came about because they were subdued both by his courtesy and the greatness of his art, but still more by the genius of his sweet nature, which was so full of gentleness and love, that even the animals

loved him, not to speak of man. It is said that every painter that knew him, and even those who did not, if he asked him for a drawing that he needed, he would leave his work to do it; and he always kept a great number at work, helping them and teaching them with a love which was rather the love given to sons than to workmen. So that he never went to court but he was attended by some fifty painters, good and noted men, striving to pay him honour. He lived in fact like a prince, not like a painter, and Art might indeed esteem itself happy when in his person it was thus exalted to the skies. And happy also may they be called who, being in his service, worked under him.

Among his numerous, or rather innumerable pupils, there was none who came nearer to him in manner, invention, design, and colour than Giulio Romano, nor were any of them better instructed by him. A proud man, self-reliant, capricious, very various and indeed universal in his talents, and abounding in ideas, while he was very pleasant in conversation, jovial, affable, gracious and excellent in his life; and these gifts no doubt were the reason that Raffaello loved him so well, that if he had been his son, he could not have loved him more. He employed him in works of the greatest importance, particularly in the papal loggie that he painted for Leo X. For when Raffaello had made the designs for the architecture, ornament, and

pictures, he entrusted the carrying out of the paintings in many cases to Giulio. He also helped Raffaello in many things, in the Borgia Tower, where the Incendio di Borgo is, below which in a bronze colour are painted the benefactors of the Church, Countess Matilda, King Pepin, Charlemagne, Godfrey de Bouillon, King of Jerusalem, all very good figures. Being thus employed by Raffaello, and learning the most difficult things in art from Raffaello himself, who taught with incredible kindness, it was not long before he could draw in perspective, make the measurements for buildings, and draw the plans; and when Raffaello had made a sketch of his ideas, he employed him to draw it out large and to scale.

Giovanfrancesco Penni, known as Il Fattore, a Florentine, owed no less to fortune than he did to his own good disposition, for his inclination for painting and his other talents were the cause that Raffaello took him into his house and brought him up with Giulio Romano, treating them both like sons. Giovanfrancesco, who was nicknamed Il Fattore when he went into Raffaello's house as a boy and always retained the name, imitated Raffaello in his drawings, and this power he always kept, for he delighted much more in drawing than in colour. Yet he was also very universal in his gifts, and found pleasure in representing houses and landscapes, and he coloured well in oil, in fresco, and in tempera, and painted portraits excellently. He



was of great assistance to Raffaello in painting the cartoons for the arras for the Pope's chapel.

A friend of Giovanfrancesco, and also a pupil of Raffaello's, was Pellegrino da Modena, who, having already acquired a name in his own country, went to Rome because he had heard of the marvellous works of Raffaello. When he reached Rome he put himself under Raffaello, who never refused anything to a worthy man. There were then in Rome an infinite number of young men devoting themselves to painting, and with perpetual emulation endeavouring to win Raffaello's favour and make themselves a name. Pellegrino, by continual study, became a master of many branches of art, and worked in the loggie with the other youths, and succeeded so well that Raffaello used him for many things. After Raffaello's death he returned to Modena, where he produced many works. But having married and settled there, his own son was the cause of his death, for the boy, quarrelling with some of his companions, killed one of them. The news being brought to Pellegrino, he hastened to the help of his son, hoping to save him from the hands of justice, by getting him out of the country, but he had scarcely left his own house before he met the parents of the dead boy seeking the murderer, and they in their fury fell upon him and wounded him so severely that he died.

Vincenzio da San Gemignano and Timoteo da Urbino were at the same time pupils, or rather



friends, of Raffaello. Vincenzio worked on the loggie, and won much praise. He was a very careful painter, tender in colour, and his figures are attractive to the eye; in fact, he took great pains to imitate the manner of his master. Timoteo da Urbino was the son of Bartolomeo della Vite, a citizen of position, and of Calliope, the daughter of Master Antonio Alberto da Ferrara, considered in his time a good painter. His father died when he was still a boy, and he was left to be brought up by his mother, by happy omen a Calliope, and, by her love for painting and poetry, able to sympathise with his tastes. Brought up by his prudent mother wisely, and introduced by her to the study of art, he entered the world just at the time when Raffaello was in his fame. He was taken by his elder brother to Bologna, and placed with a goldsmith; but being more inclined to painting than to goldsmith's work, and having given evidence of his talents by some well painted portraits of his friends, he was allowed to drop his goldsmith's tools, and give himself wholly to the study of design. He returned to his own country at the age of twenty-six, and stayed there some months until, having made himself known by his works there, he was earnestly entreated by Raffaello to come to him at Rome. He went very willingly, and was received with great kindness. Working with Raffaello, in a short time he gained not only an increased knowledge of his art, but also a good sum of money.

But although he obtained a good position in Rome, he could not bear to be so far from home, and so, induced by the advice of his friends and the prayers of his mother, now growing old, he returned to Urbino, to the great vexation of Raffaello, by whom he was much loved. There he took a wife, and as he was much in love with his native place, and children were born to him, he remained firm in his resolution to stay there, though there are many letters which show how Raffaello tried to call him back to Rome.

Lorenzo, the son of Lodovico, a bell-founder of Florence, was also much assisted by Raffaello, and he took to wife the sister of Giulio Romano. When he was quite a youth Lorenzetto, as he was always called, finished the tomb of Cardinal Forteguerri, which had been begun by Andrea del Verocchio. Afterwards going to Rome, he was set by Agostino Chigi, at the request of Raffaello, to make his tomb in Santa Maria del Popolo, where he had built a chapel. He set to work with great eagerness and diligence to win praise for it, that he might please Raffaello, from whom he hoped for help and favour, and also to earn a recompense from Agostino, who was a very rich man. Nor were his efforts vain, for with the assistance of Raffaello he brought to perfection two statues—a Jonah, nude, coming out of the fish's belly, to represent the resurrection of the dead, and an Elijah, with the cruse of water and a loaf of bread, under the juniper tree. The

statues were exquisitely finished by Lorenzo with all his skill and pains, but death having closed the eyes of Agostino, and almost at the same moment of Raffaello, the statues, from the want of filial piety in Agostino's heirs, were left for many years in his workshop, and Lorenzo seemed to have thrown away his trouble. He was, however, charged by the executors of Raffaello's will with the making of a marble statue of our Lady for Raffaello's tomb in Santa Maria Ritonda. He made also designs for many houses, especially a palace for Messer Bernardino Caffarelli, and also a design for the stables and the garden of the Cardinal della Valle. In this he introduced columns with ancient bases and capitals, and round about many ancient carvings, and above he made a frieze from broken bits of old work, and in niches he placed old statues of marble, some without heads, and some without arms or legs, all defective in some way, but he had them restored by good sculptors, and fitted them together exceedingly well. And his example was followed by many, and other great lords had the statues restored—for example, Cardinals Cesis, Ferrara, Farnese, in fact all Rome. Indeed, these ancient works of art are much more pleasing, restored in this manner, than when you have a collection of torsos and bodies without heads, or in some way broken or defective.

It was while Raffaello was at work upon the loggie of the Pope's palace for Leo X. that Polidoro da

Caravaggio came to Rome, a youth of eighteen, employed to carry the hod of mortar for the masons. But when Giovanni da Udine began to paint there, Polidoro's inclination to painting awoke; he made friends with all the young fellows of talent and watched their method of working, and began to draw himself. He was especially intimate with Maturino, a Florentine, then considered good in drawing from the antique, and took such pleasure in working with him, that in a few months he gave proofs of his genius that astonished every one who had known him in his former position. And as the work on the loggie went on, he worked with the young painters who were both gifted and skilled, and from them learned his art so divinely that he was reputed to be the finest genius among them.

When Marcantonio came to Rome he engraved a very beautiful drawing of Raffaello's, representing Lucretia killing herself, and he executed it in such a fine and careful manner, that when some friends carried it to Raffaello, he immediately arranged to have some other drawings of his engraved and published. They brought Marcantonio so much fame that his works were esteemed much better in drawing than the Flemish engravings, and the merchants made much profit out of them. Raffaello had kept a boy called Il Baviera for many years to grind his colours; and because he knew something about the matter, he arranged

that Marcantonio should engrave and Il Baviera print, so that all his pictures should be published ; and the work being set in hand, an infinity of things were produced which brought in great profits. They were signed by Marcantonio with R.S. for Raffaello Sanzio, and M.F. for Marcantonio. Afterwards, when Il Rosso came to Rome, he persuaded Il Baviera to print some of his things. He employed Gian Iacopo del Caraglio from Verona to engrave them. He was a good workman, and imitated Marcantonio carefully. The first prints having succeeded very well, Baviera made Il Rosso draw a series of twenty gods with their emblems for a book, and these Gian Iacopo Caraglio engraved ; and afterwards the "Metamorphoses," but of these only two were drawn by Il Rosso, for, in consequences of a dispute between them, Baviera employed Perino del Vaga to draw the rest.

Perino, who had been in the workshop of Ridolfo Ghirlandajo in Florence, was called Perino del Vaga, after the master who took him to Rome. He divided his time, working half the week, and drawing for his own instruction the rest, and to the last he added all the feast-days and holidays, and a great part of the nights. It was not long therefore before he was known as the best draughtsman in Rome, and especially skilful in nude subjects, understanding the muscles of the human body. Giulio Romano and Giovanfrancesco spoke of him with such praise to their master that he

desired to know him and to see his drawings, with which he was much pleased, as also with his spirit and manner of life. He therefore placed Perino among the company who were working under Giovanni da Udine upon the stuccoes and grotesques of the loggie, and there he soon showed himself good in design and colour, and possessing a very pleasant and finished style and a light graceful manner. He carried out Raffaello's designs most excellently, as may be seen from the paintings on the ceiling, where are the Passage of the Red Sea and the Walls of Jericho Falling Down, and many others. His colour is more pleasant and the execution more perfect than all the others. He gained extraordinary applause for his work, but this did not cause him to relax in his efforts, but rather excited him to greater earnestness, and he worked the more willingly that Giovanni da Udine and Raffaello held him in great esteem, and employed him in more important work. He always showed the utmost submission and obedience to Raffaello, and was greatly beloved by him.

Giulio, the Cardinal de' Medici, had taken a site in Rome under Monte Mario; where, besides the view being fine, there were springs of water, shrubs and bushes on the slopes, and level meadows running along the Tiber to the Molle Bridge, and reaching inland to the gate of S. Peter's, and he designed to build a palace on the summit of the slope, where there was a level spot. It was to



contain every convenience and agreeable accommodation of rooms and chambers, with loggie, gardens, fountains, shrubberies, and everything that heart could wish. He entrusted the work to Giulio Romano, who undertook it willingly, and the palace, which was then called the Medici vineyard, and is now Villa Madama, was brought to the perfection in which it may be seen now. Accommodating it to the site and also to the cardinal's desires, he made the front in the form of a half circle like a theatre, and introduced windows and niches of the Ionic order, which were so admired that many held that Raffaello had given the first sketch for it, though it was carried out by Giulio. He painted many of the chambers; and in a little retreat at the first entrance he made a most beautiful loggia with niches large and small round it, in which were placed a number of ancient statues, among which was a Jove, a rare piece of work, which was afterwards sent by Farnese to the King of France, Francis I. The loggia was worked with fine stucco mouldings, and the divisions and ceilings painted with grotesques by Giovanni da Udine. Here Giulio painted in fresco a great Polyphemus with a number of satyrs and boys playing round him. It gained him much praise, as indeed did all the work—the fish-ponds and rustic fountains and shrubberies, and such things. Leo X.'s death, however, put a stop to the work, for Adrian being made Pope, the Cardinal de'



Medici returned to Florence, and all the public works were at a standstill.

Raffaello at his death made Giulio and Giovanfrancesco il Fattore his heirs, with the duty imposed upon them of completing the works he left unfinished. He directed that out of his property the tabernacle in Santa Maria Ritonda should be restored, and an altar made with a statue of our Lady in marble, under which he should repose after his death. The statue of Madonna was, as has been said, entrusted to Lorenzetto; and the two disciples, Giulio and Giovanfrancesco remained together and worked upon the pictures. Raffaello had begun upon the great hall of the palace, and had made cartoons for part of the four pictures to be painted there, representing the Emperor Constantine. The walls had been covered with a mixture to prepare them for painting upon in oil, when Pope Leo died, and it soon became apparent that Adrian, who took no pleasure in paintings or sculpture or any other good thing, did not wish them to be carried any further. Giulio and Giovanfrancesco and Perino del Vaga (who had married the sister of Giovanfrancesco, and was helping in the work), and Giovanni da Udine and the other painters were in despair, and while Adrian lived were like to die of hunger. If the government of the Papal See had remained long in his hands things would have happened as in the days of the Goths, when all the statues, good and

bad, were condemned to the flames. Adrian indeed had begun, in imitation of the priests of that time, to consider the question of pulling down Michael Angelo's chapel because of the nude figures. He had a perfect hatred of good pictures and statues, thinking them wicked and abominable.

The whole Court, accustomed to Leo's splendour, were quite dismayed, and the greatest artists went about wondering what was to be done, since talent had ceased to be of any value, when by Heaven's decree Adrian died, and in his place Giulio, Cardinal de' Medici, became Pope, with the title of Clement VII.

## CHAPTER XXI

### GIORGIONE AND LOTTO

CRISTOFORO PARMESE, Cima da Conegliano, and many others are numbered among the pupils of Bellini. Andrea Mantegna married his sister, but among all his scholars the most famous are Giorgione da Castelfranco and Tiziano da Cadore. Andrea was adopted by the artist Squarcione, who had recognised his genius and taught him his art, making him study especially the ancient statues, the effect of which was always obvious in his style. Afterwards, when angry with him for marrying the daughter of Jacopo Bellini, he found fault with him, saying that the figures in his pictures resembled statues and seemed to be of stone. He was in the service of the Marquis Lodovico Gonzaga, and painted a picture for his palace in Mantua, which was destroyed in the sack of the city by the Germans in 1630. Also in one of the rooms he painted, with figures larger than life, the Triumph of Cæsar, an astounding picture, for which the marquis gave him lands and houses and created him a knight.

He was summoned to Rome to paint for Pope

Innocent in the Belvedere, but returned not well satisfied with his treatment, for he had hoped to obtain a benefice for his son. It is said that when Albert Dürer, the famous painter and engraver, was coming into Italy, Andrea sent a special messenger to invite him to come to Mantua, as he desired to know him, and Albert gladly began his journey, but before he reached Mantua Andrea was dead, which grieved Dürer so much that he used to say it was the saddest thing that had ever happened to him.

Castelfranco, in the Trevigiano, and Vedalago, a village not far distant, contend for the honour of being the native place of Giorgione. The Barbarelli claim him as one of them; but there is also a story that he was born of a family in the district of Vedalago, and that his father, being a man of means and seeing his son devoted to drawing, took him to Venice and placed him with Giovanni Bellini. From him he learnt the rules of drawing, and in a short time gave such manifest signs of a genius for colour that it caused some outbreak of jealousy in his master. And it is certainly wonderful to see how the boy added to Bellini's method a certain grace and tenderness of colour, and to notice the surpassing sweetness of his way of uniting the light and shade and of marking the delicate rosiness of some parts of the body where the blood collects, or which are flushed with exertion, so that it is certainly reasonable to call him



*Giorgione*

THE CONCERT  
(Pitti Gallery, Florence)

*Alinari*



the greatest colourist of modern times, who found out such a beautiful way of painting. When he left Bellini he spent some time in Venice working for the painters and painting pictures of devotion as well as cabinets, beds, and such things.

After a visit to Castelfranco, where he was received as a great man, he returned to Venice, finding the city more congenial to his disposition, and took a house in Campo di San Silvestro, where he drew round him by his talents and pleasant ways a number of friends, with whom he passed a merry life, playing the lute and enjoying himself. He painted the outside of the house he had taken, that it might attract those who desired such work as his, the wealthy being in the habit at that time of painting their houses in this way. On the upper part he depicted musicians, poets, and fanciful figures, and along the chimneys groups of children, and in the lower part pictures which have become unintelligible from the effects of time. The thing pleasing the city, he was employed to paint the façade of the Casa Soranza, but the children and fanciful figures have all disappeared except a woman with flowers in her hand, and a Vulcan in another part.

Giorgione continued to paint shields and coats-of-arms and chests, especially some on which he illustrated most of Ovid's fables. But to speak of works more worthy of consideration, he painted many portraits, such as the Doge Agostin Bar-



barigo, Caterina Cornaro, Queen of Cyprus, Gonzalvo Ferrante, called the Great Captain, and many others, and decorated the front of the Casa Grimana. When the German Exchange was rebuilt after being burnt in 1504, the Doge Loredano, whose portrait he had painted, employed him to paint the side facing the canal, while the other side towards the bridge was allotted to Titian. Many paintings of his are known in Venice and elsewhere. Some say that he began the picture of Pope Alexander III. with Frederick I. kissing his feet, in the Council Hall, which was afterwards finished by Titian, while others hold that Giovanni Bellini began it. He was carried off, as some say by the plague, in 1511, at the age of thirty-four, and the artists who have succeeded him have found their work made easy, and have learnt the true method of colour from his works.

Another painter who came from the school of Giovanni Bellini was Andrea Previtali of Bergamo, who imitated his master's style so carefully that many portraits by him pass for Bellini's works. He painted a picture for the cathedral of Bergamo, which is held in much esteem by the citizens of that city, and at Ceneda there is an Annunciation, with the Virgin kneeling at a desk and the angel in a very devout attitude, of which it is said that Titian, who used to pass that way going to Cadore, took great delight in it, being charmed with its devout spirit.

In Bergamo, indeed, and its neighbourhood, art was flourishing, and there were many painters who were making the district known by their works. Among them the most highly esteemed was the older Jacopo Palma, of whom it may be said that, challenging nature herself, he bore away the palm, and bore it as a name in sign of victory. He was born in Serinalta, in the Bergamo territory, of a humble family, and, after having learnt the principles of art, went to Venice, where Titian was at the zenith of his fame. Working there together with him, he gained a great mastery of his tools and a certain sweetness of colour, which approaches the early works of Titian himself.

We have not many large public works of his, partly because his life was so short, and he spent a long time over pictures, touching and retouching them with the utmost patience, and carrying them to the last point of finish, and partly because he preferred to work for private persons; and the greater part of these have been carried abroad, for his works are much sought for by all nations for their great delicacy. He was a man of pleasant appearance, as his portraits show, and of good habits and regular in his work. In his pictures we find both noble ideas and good drawing, and their high finish and great delicacy produce a wonderful effect when they are seen close. He was much loved and esteemed, his very genius having imprinted on him a character to win reverence

and affection ; and after forty-eight years of earnest well-spent labour he died in the very prime of his powers, and at the height of his reputation.

His fellow-countryman, Lorenzo Lotto, shone with no less brilliance. Some say he learnt his art in the school of Giovanni Bellini, and afterwards studied the works of Giorgione ; others suppose him to have worked with his friend Palma, because he approaches his style in many of his works. In his native place Bergamo, in the church of San Bartolomeo, there is a wonderful picture with the Virgin and Child, and the patron saints of the city, and below scenes from the life of the proto-martyr. In Bergamo and the Bergamasco there are many of his works. There is a Marriage of S. Catherine, in the house of Signor Bonghi, which was placed for security in the church of San Michele, when the French were occupying Bergamo. But those soldiers, having little respect for holy places, invaded the church, and one of them, being pleased with the landscape in the picture, which represented a view of Mount Sinai, seen from a window, cut it out of the picture, and the canvas may be seen to this day in that state. When he came to Venice, his pictures won him a name for delicacy and careful work. There is a Nativity, which is a night scene, with angels surrounding the Virgin Mother, all lighted up by the glory that shines forth from the Holy Child.



Giorgione

THE HOLY FAMILY  
(*The Louvre*)

Nardini



In the time of Pope Paul II. Giuliano da Maiano rebuilt the church of the Madonna di Loreto, which had been but a small thing, with a roof supported by brick pilasters in a rustic style. He made it as big as it is now, but left it unfinished, and it was completed afterwards under Sixtus IV. and others. In this church Domenico Veneziano, in company with Piero della Francesca, had begun to paint, but, being frightened away by the plague, the pictures were finished afterwards by Luca da Cortona. Leo X. ordered that the chamber of our Lady should be decorated with marble sculpture. Bramante began the works there, and after his death Andrea del Monte Sansovino was sent to complete it. He, taking up the work, decorated the spaces with scenes from the life of our Lady. On one side he began the Nativity of our Lady, and gave it to be finished by Baccio Bandinelli; on the other side the Marriage, but this also he left unfinished, and it was completed after his death by Raffaello da Montelupo. In two small pictures he represented the Visitation and the Annunciation. And, indeed, this holy place, which was the very house and dwelling of the Mother of the Son of God, could not have received richer and more beautiful ornament than the architecture of Bramante and the sculpture of Andrea Sansovino. Andrea spent an almost incredible time upon the Annunciation, so that he had not time to finish the others that he

had begun. The Nativity of our Lord, with the shepherds and four angels singing, and the Magi, were finished by Girolamo Lombardo, his pupil. Two great pictures were made one above the other, the first the Death of our Lady, and the Apostles carrying her to the tomb, and this was finished afterwards by Domenico da Bologna. Under this he ordered the story of the Miracle of Loreto to be represented: how the chapel, which was the chamber of our Lady—where she was born and brought up, saluted by the Angel, and where she watched over her Son for twelve years, and lived always after His death—was carried by the angels first into Sclavonia, then into the land of Ricanati into a wood, and lastly into the place where it is now, venerated and continually visited by all Christian people. This picture, as Andrea had arranged it, was worked in marble by the Florentine sculptor, Il Tribolo.

In the time of Clement VII., however, without any previous sign of danger, the church suddenly burst open in such a way that not only the arches of the tribune threatened to fall, but many parts of the church began to give, the foundation having been insecurely laid. Pope Clement therefore sent the younger Antonio da San Gallo to put it into good repair, and he being a resolute man, and an intelligent architect, relaid the foundations entirely, and, strengthening the walls and pillars within and





*Lorenzo Lotto*

THE MADONNA, CHILD, AND SAINTS  
(*Carrara Gallery, Bergamo*)



without, added beauty to its whole form and proportion to its parts, and made it strong enough to bear a great weight. The work deserves to be remembered, for it was really raising the dead; and the famous sanctuary has a better form and more grace than before with the hope of a very long life. Clement, when he sent Antonio, bade him take with him Il Tribolo to finish the work that Sansovino had left incomplete, and there he found himself working with Simone, surnamed Il Mosca, that most beautiful carver in marble, with Raffaello Montelupo, young Francesco da San Gallo, Girolamo Ferrarese, Simone Cioti, Ranieri da Pietrasanta, and Francesco del Tada. Antonio himself had five great works on hand in different places, the castle of Florence, and the one at Ancona, this work at Loreto, the Pope's palace, and the fortress of Orvieto.

To this holy house of Loreto came Lorenzo Lotto moved by deep devotion. He had already sent thither a picture of S. Christopher, and the guardians of the place gave him a warm welcome and invited him to paint in it. Lorenzo gladly embraced the opportunity, and began upon some subjects from the life of Christ and the Virgin, with the Archangel Michael, which were placed over the seats in the choir. In process of time the good old man gave himself up to prayer, spending his hours in that holy house in meditation upon the

incarnation of the Son of God, his heart melted into tenderness by this holy contemplation. He resolved to end his life there in the service of God, and thus in these devout employments he passed his days, dying of mere old age, and leaving behind him a bright memory of goodness and virtue.



*V. Carpaccio*

THE ARRIVAL OF S. URSULA  
(*Accademia, Venice*)

*Anderson*



## CHAPTER XXII

### THE SACK OF ROME

POPE Leo and Charles V. were waging war most prosperously against the French king in Lombardy when, only a few days after the King of France had lost the State of Milan, Pope Leo died in the last days of November 1521, and with him died the last legitimate male heir of the house of Medici, who was descended from Cosimo, the Father of his Country.

After the election of the new Pope Adrian VI., who was absent at the time in Spain, Cardinal de' Medici returned to Florence. Affairs in Rome therefore were for many months in confusion, and everything in fact was at a standstill, and Cardinal Soderini in the Congregations and in the College of Cardinals did much to annoy and injure the Cardinal de' Medici. At the end of August, Pope Adrian arrived in Italy, landing at Leghorn, whither the Cardinal de' Medici, to do him honour, and still more to please himself, went himself to meet him. The Pope gave him audience, and desired him to accompany him to Rome, to which the cardinal consented. But, arrived there, Cardinal



Soderini obtained such credit with his Holiness, that Cardinal de' Medici, because of his constant opposition, thought it best to return to Florence, whither he came, not very well pleased with the Pope. The Cardinal Soderini, however, carried on intrigues in favour of the French in Sicily, against the Emperor, so that Cardinal de' Medici regained the favour of the Pope and the Emperor.

In September 1523, Pope Adrian died, and after a long contest among the cardinals, who were shut up in conclave for two months before they could agree, Cardinal de' Medici was elected and took the name of Clement VII. As he could no longer govern Florence himself, he urged upon the ambassadors who came from Florence to congratulate him on his election, to choose either Ippolito, a son of Duke Giuliano, or Alessandro, a son of Duke Lorenzo. They, being unwilling to assent to the choice of either, answered that they left the matter to his Holiness. He therefore sent Ippolito, placing him under the care of the Cardinal of Cortona, because he was too young to be capable of such a government.

Meanwhile, with the election of Pope Clement had revived all the arts of design. Giulio Romano and Giovanfrancesco were immediately ordered to complete the Hall of Constantine. The wall had been prepared for painting in oil, and this they pulled down, leaving, however, two figures which they had before painted in oil, a Justice and another.

The room being low, Raffaello had designed a number of niches with ornaments of boys holding emblems and badges of the house of Medici ; and in the niches certain Popes in their pontifical robes, and each Pope had on either side two Virtues according to his character, as the Apostle Peter with Religion on one side and Charity or Piety on the other. All these were very well carried out by Giulio in fresco. He took very great pains and care in the work, as may be seen from his drawing of S. Sylvester, which he designed himself, and which perhaps has more grace than the picture ; for Giulio certainly always expresses his ideas better in his drawings than in his finished pictures, showing in them more vivacity, and vigour and feeling. This may happen, no doubt, because he made the drawing in an hour when he was hot and eager at his work, whereas over his pictures he spent months and years, and often grew weary of them. On the sides of the room were scenes from the life of Constantine.

While they were engaged upon this room, Giulio and Giovanfrancesco together painted an Assumption of our Lady, which was sent to Perugia ; and Giulio working alone painted a Madonna, with a cat by her side so natural that it seems alive, and the picture is always called the Picture of the Cat. Many other pictures also he undertook, and, when he had separated from Giovanfrancesco, many architectural works.

As we have said, Giulio Romano and Giovanfrancesco had been appointed heads of the works in Rome after Raffaello's death. Perino del Vaga, working out in fresco a drawing of Giulio's, distinguished himself so much that they began to fear he would be placed over them; for though they were Raffaello's pupils and heirs, they had not inherited so much of his grace and colour as Perino had. They therefore consulted together how to manage, and, in the year of the Jubilee 1525, they gave him Giovanfrancesco's sister to wife, that their long friendship might be turned into a closer connection. The three therefore worked together upon the Assumption that was sent to Perugia, and on various other works, and were ordered by Pope Clement to make a copy of Raffaello's painting in San Piero a Montorio, that it might be sent to France, for which Raffaello's picture had been intended. The work was already begun when a separation took place between them. They divided the drawings and other things left them by Raffaello. Giulio went away to Mantua to work for the duke, but when Giovanfrancesco, either from his affection for Giulio or from hope of work, followed him, he was coldly received. He left Mantua therefore, and Lombardy, and returned to Rome, and thence went in a galley to Naples, carrying with him the completed picture to the Marchese del Vasto, by whom it was placed in his island of Ischia. He was very kindly received by the Marquis, and, when

soon after he fell sick and died, his death caused him much regret.

When Pope Adrian died, Cardinal Hincfort, who had been his servant, and owed him much, not ungrateful for his kindness, determined to build him a marble sepulchre. He entrusted the work to Baldassare Peruzzi, who, being a Sienese, employed the Sienese sculptor, Michaelangelo, as his fellow-citizen and friend, to work upon it. He made a life-size effigy of the Pope, with a scene from his arrival at Rome, and four Virtues at the corners, which earned him a good reward and favours as long as he lived.

After the plague, which distressed Rome for many months, was over, the survivors made an effort to cheer themselves a little; and, among other things, there was formed a society of painters, sculptors, goldsmiths—in fact, the best artists in Rome. The founder of this society was Michaelangelo da Siena. He was a very good artist—the equal of any of them—but he was especially sociable, and, though he was the eldest of the society, in many ways he was the youngest. “We met together often,” says Cellini—“at least, twice a week; and there came Giulio Romano and Giovanfrancesco, but Giulio went away to Mantua, and gradually the others went each about his business, and the society was dispersed. Then the whole world took up arms. Pope Clement had sent to Messer Giovanni de’ Medici to ask for some soldiers,

but when they came they behaved so that the public shops were not places to be in safely."

The Pope had not interfered much in the war in Lombardy between Cæsar and the Most Christian King, in which occurred the disastrous defeat of the French at Pavia, when the French King was carried prisoner to Spain. But after the king was ransomed and returned to his kingdom, with his heart more set than ever on recovering the State of Milan, he contrived, for the sake of beginning the war again, to make a league with the Pope and the Venetians and (by the wish of the Pope) with the Florentines against the Emperor. The league prepared for war in Lombardy, and the army of the Church was under Messer Francesco Guicciardini as lieutenant of Holy Church and papal legate, while Count Guido Rangoni and Signor Giovanni de' Medici, who was descended from old Cosimo's brother, were the captains of the army.

In the beginning of 1526 the war began, and was waged with varying success in Lombardy. The Emperor therefore resolved to divert the Pope from the war in Lombardy by attacking him in Rome. Cardinal Colonna and Don Ugo di Moncada captured the quarter of St. Peter's, and the palace of the Pope was sacked, and the Pope, being besieged in the castle, was forced to make terms to his disadvantage. Filippo Strozzi was sent as hostage to Naples, and a suspension of arms was agreed to. But the Pope could not be persuaded

to leave the war alone; and while Colonna and Don Ugo were pressing upon him at Rome, his armies and the army of the League were seizing Cremona.

The Emperor therefore sent a strong army of Germans under Monseigneur Bourbon, who had rebelled against the King of France, down into Italy. He descended first upon Mantua, the Duke of Ferrara having come to terms with the Emperor, and undertaking to provide victuals and a passage. The League sent Signor Giovanni de' Medici to stop his passage and give the Pope more time to prepare for defence. Signor Giovanni bravely followed the Germans, and gave good proof of his courage; but at last, as fortune would have it, he was wounded by a musket-ball in the leg at Borgoforte in a brisk skirmish, and died of his wound in a few days at Mantua. His death caused great alarm through Italy, and every one foresaw that there was no remedy left, and nothing could happen but the great slaughter and terrible ruin of Rome, which followed in a few months. His death could not have occurred at a time to cause more general sorrow, nor at a time when the Pope would have felt it more. If he had not been in such urgent peril, the jealousy he felt of Signor Giovanni on account of Ippolito and Alessandro might have prevented his regretting it at all. If the German army had come by the way of Florence it would have been impossible for her to escape; but the army took



the road to Rome without losing any time in the Florentine dominions, and that great and memorable day—the 6th of May 1527—arrived in which the Duke of Bourbon fell before he knew that he was victorious, and Rome was sacked as cruelly as ever a city was, while the Pope himself scarcely escaped into the castle, where he remained a prisoner for many months.

When the Pope had sent away, at the advice of Jacopo Salviati, the five companies that Signor Giovanni had sent him, and Signor Giovanni himself was dead, Bourbon, knowing that there was no army in Rome, hurried his troops as fast as possible to Rome. At that time all Rome took up arms, “and I,” says Cellini, “was asked by Alessandro, the son of Piero del Bene, to come and help guard his house, as I had done when the Colonnas came to Rome. I collected fifty brave young fellows, and entered the house well paid and well treated. When Bourbon’s army appeared outside the walls, Alessandro asked me to go out with him, and a young man, Cecchino della Casa, accompanied us. We came to the walls of the Campo Santo, and there before us was that marvellous army, already trying to force an entrance. At the spot we had come to there were many lying dead, and the contest was very stubborn. There was as thick a fog as can be imagined. I said to Alessandro: ‘We had better get home as quickly as possible, for there is nothing to be done here. You see those are



climbing the walls, and these are giving way.' Alessandro, in terror, said: 'I wish we had not come,' and turned in great haste to go. But I said: 'As you have brought me here we must do something worthy of men,' and aimed my arquebus at a spot where I saw the battle was thickest, and pointed it at one whom I saw over the heads of the others; but the fog was so thick that I could not see whether he was on horseback or on foot. And I turned to Alessandro and Cecchino, and showed them how to hide their arquebuses that they might not receive a shot from outside. And when we had each fired twice, I climbed the wall dexterously, and saw a great tumult going on outside, because one of our bolts had struck down Bourbon, for he was the one whom I had seen above the others, as we heard afterwards.

"Escaping from there, we came through the Campo Santo and by S. Peter's, and out by the church of Santo Agnolo, and so came to the gates of the castle with the greatest difficulty, for Signor Renzo da Ceri and Signor Orazio Baglioni were striking and knocking down all they met, to drive them back to the walls. As we reached the gates, a body of the enemy poured into the city and were upon us. As the castle was letting down its portcullis there was a moment's pause, and so we got inside. At the same moment Pope Clement entered the castle through the corridors, for he would not be persuaded to leave

S. Peter's before, not believing the enemy could enter.

"As soon as I was in, I attached myself to some artillery, which was under the charge of a bombardier named Giuliano, a Florentine. He was clinging to the wall of the castle watching his little house being destroyed, and his wife and children murdered, and he did not dare fire his own guns for fear of hurting his own people. He had thrown away the match, and was weeping bitterly together with the other bombardiers. So I took one of the matches, and getting some to help me who were not so overcome with grief, I turned some sakers and falconets where I saw they were wanted, and knocked over a good many of the enemy, and if I had not done it the enemy would have come straight to the castle, and it is possible they would have got in, because the guns were doing them no harm. Some cardinals poured their blessings upon me, and called me a man of great courage. Suffice it to say, that I was the cause that the castle was not taken that day, and that the other bombardiers returned to their duty. I served all the day, and when evening was come, and the army had entered Rome from the Trastevere side, Pope Clement made a great Roman gentleman captain of the bombardiers, and he set me with five pieces of artillery on the highest point of the castle named from the Angel close by.

"Pope Clement had sent to ask help from the

Duke of Urbino, who was with the Venetian army, and had said that as long as the castle held out, there would be three fires at the top of the castle, and three shots would be fired every evening. I had the charge of lighting the fires and firing the guns, and I alway aimed them during the day so that they should do great damage, but the help from the duke never came. I used to see a good deal of the cardinals who were in the castle, especially Cardinal Ravenna and Cardinal de' Gaddi, whom I constantly told not to put themselves so forward, because their red hats showed at such a distance that they ran into great danger, until at last I had them shut up, and earned their enmity in consequence.

“Passing over some time, I will narrate how Pope Clement, to save the jewels of the tiara and all the precious stones belonging to the Papal See, sent for me, and shut himself up with Il Cavalierino and me in a room. This Cavalierino had been a servant in Filippo Strozzi's stables; he was a Frenchman of very low birth, and Pope Clement had made him very rich, and trusted him entirely. So being shut together in a room, they put before me the crown jewels and the other gems, and bid me take them out of their setting. When I had done this, and wrapped them in a little piece of paper, we sewed them into the lining of the clothes that the Pope and Cavalierino were wearing. And they gave me the gold, about two hundred pounds

weight, and told me to melt it down as secretly as I could. So I took it up to the Angel, where my room was, which I could lock up so that nobody should disturb me, and made a furnace there with bricks, and fixed an ash-pan like a dish, and, putting the gold on the coals by little and little, it fell into the pan. When the gold was melted I carried it to the Pope, who thanked me warmly for what I had done, and bade Il Cavalierino give me twenty-five scudi, excusing himself that he could not give me more. But in a few days the terms of surrender were arranged."

When Giulio Romano had left Rome for Mantua and Giovanfrancesco also was gone, Perino del Vaga was employed in the church of San Marcello. He had many interruptions from sickness and other accidents, besides that money was wanting to the Compagnia del Crocifisso, and so the work was protracted until the troubles came upon Rome by which so many artists suffered and so many works were destroyed or carried away. Perino, finding himself in the middle of all the trouble, ran about Rome with his wife and a child hanging round his neck trying to escape, and was at last made prisoner and had to pay a ransom, after troubles enough to turn his brain. When the fury of the sack was over, he was so crushed by the terror he had suffered that he seemed to have forgotten all about his art, but employed himself on pictures in distemper to please the

Spanish soldiers, and settled down to live like a poor man. But Il Baviera, who had Raffaello's engravings, and had not lost much in the sack, out of his affection for Perino, persuaded him to make some drawings for the "Metamorphoses," to be engraved by Iacopo Caraglio. While Rome was still in utter misery from the destruction it had suffered, and the inhabitants had all forsaken it, the Pope himself having gone to Orvieto, and no business being done of any sort, Niccola Veneziano came to Rome. He was a unique master of the art of embroidery and in the service of Prince Doria, and out of an old friendship for Perino, and also because he was always good to artists, he set to work to persuade him to leave the miserable place and go to Genoa, promising him work with the prince. Perino did not need much persuading, being overwhelmed with want, and longing passionately to get away from Rome; so he left his wife and daughter in the care of their relations at Rome, and set off.

Vincenzio di San Gemignano was working well, and gaining great credit in Rome when the destruction came. After a great deal of trouble he had to return to his native place, but his works there, either from his troubles or from his caring less for art when he had left the place that nourishes it, were not worthy of the reputation he had gained.

Of other pupils of Raffaello, Maturino and Polidoro had decided to live together like brothers,

and were prospering greatly, so that if all their works were to be named it would require a whole book to be given to these alone, for there is scarcely a room, palace, or garden in which there are not works of theirs. Rome, smiling and happy, was decorating herself with their works, and they were expecting the reward of their labours when fortune sent Bourbon to Rome, and the long partnership of Polidoro and Maturino, like that of many thousands of friends and relations who had long shared the same loaf, was broken up. Maturino fled, and it is supposed that, after many hardships and sufferings, he died of the plague in Rome, and was buried in Sant' Eustachio. Polidoro took the road to Naples, but, finding the nobles there little interested in painting, was like to die of hunger. Nevertheless he left some works there, and then, resolving to leave a people who cared more for horses than for art, he went on board a galley and transferred himself to Messina, where he found more honourable treatment.

Il Rosso also was at Rome then, having come with a great reputation for good work done in Florence, and because some of his drawings had been seen there which were considered marvellous. But in the Pace, by the side of Raffaello's works, he painted the very worst thing he ever did. I cannot imagine why, unless it was the same thing that has been noticed in others, that (from some mysterious law of nature) a man changing his country



and residence, changes also his habits and customs, and even his nature, and becomes as it were stunned and stupefied. This may have happened when Rosso came into the air of Rome and saw the stupendous works of architecture and sculpture, in the same way as these things made Fra Bartolomeo and Andrea del Sarto flee from Rome without leaving any of their works behind them. Anyhow, Il Rosso never did anything worse, and the work has to stand comparison with those of Raffaello. However, at the same time he was painting for his friend Bishop Tornabuoni a picture of the dead Christ supported by two angels, which is a very fine thing. He was also making some drawings for Il Baviera's series of the gods, to be engraved by Iacopo Caraglio, when the sack of Rome took place. He fell into the hands of the Germans, and was very badly treated; for they stripped him of his clothes, and, barefoot and without anything on his head, made him carry heavy weights, the whole contents of a pork-butcher's shop, and it was with great difficulty that he escaped and succeeded in reaching Perugia, where he was kindly received by Domenico di Paris the painter, who gave him clothes. He made a drawing for him of the Magi, a very fine thing. But he did not stay long in that place, for hearing that Bishop Tornabuoni, escaping also from the sack, had arrived at Borgo, he went to join him, because he had been very kind to him.



Francesco Mazzuoli, known as Parmigiano, was in Rome also, and narrowly escaped with his life, for he was so intent upon his work that he was quite unaware of what was happening till the soldiers began breaking into the houses, and some Germans coming in upon him while he was painting were so astonished at what they saw, that, like good fellows, as they must have been, they let him alone. And while the barbarians, in their impious cruelty, were destroying the poor city, things sacred and profane alike, these Germans provided for him and protected him from harm. And the only trouble he had was that one of them, being very fond of art, required him to make a number of water-colour drawings and pen sketches as payment of his ransom. But the soldiers being changed, Francesco again narrowly escaped, for, going out to seek some friends, he fell into the hands of some other soldiers, and was obliged to pay as ransom the few scudi he had.

A great friend of his, Giovann' Antonio Lapoli, a pupil of Iacopo da Pontormo, was working in Florence when Perino del Vaga came there and formed a close friendship with him. He returned with Perino to Rome, and Messer Paolo Valdambrini, the secretary of the Pope, encouraged him and gave him every help in his studies, and introduced him to the young artists who were working there. He had just finished a life-sized Madonna, which Messer Paolo intended to present to Pope

Clement that he might see Giovann' Antonio's talents, when the disaster happened. Messer Paolo was riding to the gate of Santo Spirito in Trastevere, and Giovann' Antonio with him, to provide for the defence of that quarter against Bourbon's soldiers, when they were attacked. Messer Paolo was killed and Giovann' Antonio made prisoner by some Spaniards; and in the sack the picture was lost, and his drawings and all that he had. He was much ill-treated by the Spaniards to make him pay a ransom, but escaped at night with some other prisoners, in his shirt, and, after great peril of death in the dangerous roads, he succeeded in reaching his uncle's house at Arezzo wretched and desperate, and nearly dying from want and fear.

Poor Marcantonio also was almost reduced to beggary to pay his ransom, and Baldassare Peruzzi, the architect of S. Peter's, falling into the hands of some Spaniards, not only lost everything, but was also much ill-treated, as from his grave aspect they took him for a bishop in disguise. When they found he was a painter they forced him to make a portrait of that enemy to God and man, the Constable Bourbon.

## CHAPTER XXIII

### THE SIEGE OF FLORENCE

THREE times was the house of Medici driven out of Florence in the space of ninety-four years—that is, between 1433 and 1527; and each of the three times, as if it were the will of Heaven, they returned greater and more powerful than they were before. The first time, Cosimo, with some of his followers, was driven out in the year 1433, and, having been a year in exile, was recalled, and returned in 1434. The second time his great-grandson Piero, the son of Lorenzo di Piero, was driven out, together with Cardinal Giovanni, afterwards Leo X., and Giuliano the Magnifico, who was afterwards Duke of Nemours, and his little boy, his only son, named Lorenzo after his grandfather, who was afterwards Duke of Urbino. This expulsion occurred in the year 1494, and after an exile of eighteen years, in 1512, they all came back to Florence except Piero, who was drowned in the Garigliano in 1503. The third and last time, it was nominally Ippolito, the son of the Magnifico Giuliano, afterwards cardinal, who was driven out, together with Alessandro, the son

of young Lorenzo, who was first Duke of Civit  di Peuna, and then Duke of Florence ; but really it was the rule of Clement VII. which was overthrown. This was in the year 1527, but after they had been exiled for three years they recovered their power, and made themselves absolute lords and masters of Florence.

The news of the great disaster at Rome soon reached Florence, the first to announce it being Filippo Strozzi, who had been the Pope's hostage in Naples, and who came resolved to bring about a change in the State. He began at once to urge that, the Pope being ruined, the city must liberate itself. And his wife Clarice, daughter of Piero de' Medici, bade the Cardinal of Cortona take Ippolito away and let the city be free. To this course they were forced to submit ; and they left while the government was still in the hands of their friends ; but they had no sooner departed than a revolution took place and the State was placed under the rule of a government popular in the widest sense, and quite unruly.

While the Pope was still a prisoner in Castel Sant' Angelo, the plague was very bad in Florence, and it was with great difficulty that the councils, especially the Great Council, could be got together. But when in December the Pope came to terms with the Imperialists, and retired to Orvieto, where the court followed him, uneasiness began to appear again in Florence, and the enemies of

the Gonfaloniere, Niccolò Capponi, began to hold up their heads. Bands of youths began to be formed, who took up arms under pretence of guarding the palace, some being for the Gonfaloniere and some against him. Thus for some months the city was disturbed, when the Pope, falling seriously ill and thinking himself about to die, created his nephew Ippolito cardinal. The divisions among the people subsided to some extent when his death seemed probable, but awoke again on his recovery, especially as it was the time for electing a new Gonfaloniere. Niccolò sought by patience and kindness to be elected again, and had gained over to his side the Fratesca party, because he had been connected with Fra Bartolomeo da Faenza, and had always done everything to keep up the memory of Savonarola. At this time, when, as I say, it was difficult because of the plague to keep up the meeting of the councils, or to manage the public business, Niccolò made a speech in the Great Council, in which he repeated almost word for word one of Fra Girolamo's sermons, and one of the most terrific, in which the friar had predicted the scourges that were to befall Italy and Florence, and how after the punishment was to come great felicity to the Florentine people; and he showed how the friar's words had been fulfilled, and grew so earnest in his speech that he ended by falling on his knees and crying upon God for mercy; and the people were so moved

by it that they all began to cry for mercy as they used to do at the end of Savonarola's most terrifying sermons. To please the Frateschi still more, and to gain his second election, he persuaded the people to bring about the promised happy times by electing Christ as the king, in a special sense, of the Florentines; and that they should set the ensign of Christ and the glorious name of Jesus over the door of the palace, so that none might ever presume to take it away or to place his own name there. When he had finished speaking, it was put to the council whether Christ should be our peculiar king of whom S. Paul had said that "God had made Him heir of all things;" and from all the hundreds of citizens assembled in that council there were only about twenty blank papers. When the election came on in 1528 Niccolò Capponi was elected, and this second election to the supreme office raised his courage and that of his party.

The Gonfaloniere had kept up a certain communication with the Pope, and this continued still more after his second election—the Pope hoping with patience to overcome all the difficulties in the way of the return of his family to Florence, and the Gonfaloniere hoping to keep the Pope from making any violent attempt upon the city. But, as fortune would have it, the Gonfaloniere, passing through the rooms of the signoria, let fall a letter, which, being found by one of the lords, was by him brought before the government, and Niccolò



Capponi was ordered to be kept under guard in the rooms below Gonfaloniere's chambers; he defended himself with great courage, and would not allow that he had erred, and finally was let go on condition of giving bail not to leave the territory of Florence.

After this the Pope, seeing that he could not hope to restore his family to Florence except by force, sent the Archbishop of Capua to the Emperor with power to agree to anything that the Emperor wished as to Italian affairs, without any regard to the King of France or the Italian princes, and to put himself without reserve into the Emperor's hands. And his Majesty, that he might come into Italy without opposition to be crowned according to the old custom, agreed to what the Pope asked, and promised to give one of his daughters to Duke Alessandro to wife. The Emperor, having thus come to terms with the Pope, and having also made peace with the King of France, began to prepare for his journey into Italy for his coronation, and our city, being thus disposed of between the great princes, was much divided and disunited.

It was already the month of August when it was heard in Florence that the Emperor had arrived in Barcelona, and was waiting for the fleet to conduct him to Italy. It was with great difficulty agreed that four ambassadors should be sent to meet him in Genoa, Niccolò Capponi, Tommaso Soderini,



Matteo Strozzi, and Raffaello Girolami. They were commissioned to promise that the city would be ready to obey him if there was no question of altering the present form of government. Meanwhile the citizens prepared for the terrible war which they saw was hanging over their heads, and they chose as their captain Stefano Colonna, under Malatesta Baglioni, who, by the influence of the King of France, had been taken into their pay, and assembled four thousand infantry of the best in Italy from the soldiers of Signor Giovanni that were left. They held consultations over the fortifications of the city and those in the lands of their dominion, and, with the advice of architects, one of whom was the citizen Michael Angelo Buonarroti, Antonio da San Gallo was employed upon the defences of the city, and his nephew Francesco was with him.

They made Michael Angelo commissary-general over all the fortifications, and in many places he designed and carried out fortresses for the city, surrounding the hill of San Miniato with bastions, and these he made, not with turf and great stakes of wood, as they are usually made, but laid first a kind of armour underneath of chestnut and oak wood interwoven, and covered, not with turf, but with unbaked bricks, mixed with tow and cow's dung, and made very smooth. He was despatched by the signoria to Ferrara to examine the fortifications of Duke Alfonso, and his artillery and

ammunition. The duke received him very courteously, and begged him at his leisure to execute some work for him, which Michael Angelo promised to do. Returning, he went on with his work of fortifying the city, but though he was so busy he found time to paint, in tempera, the Leda for that duke, and to work secretly at the San Lorenzo tombs. Michael Angelo was six months working on San Miniato to make the fortifications complete; for if the enemy was able to make himself master of it, the city was taken.

They pulled down the suburbs round the city, which were large and rich and full of sacred buildings and private houses, that they might not harbour the enemy; and the vineyards and olive gardens which had grown up during the long period of prosperity were destroyed.

It was at this time that the convent outside the gate San Gallo, from the building of which Giuliano da San Gallo received his name, was pulled down, and all the fine buildings of that quarter, so that there was not a church or convent or house left. In his young days when he was beginning to make himself a name, Andrea del Sarto had been employed by the Compagnia dello Scalzo to paint, in a cloister, stories from the life of S. John the Baptist, and not long after he painted for the Friars of S. Augustine in San Gallo, outside the gate, a picture of Christ appearing to S. Mary Magdalene and two others. He was living then with Francia



S. FILIPPO BENIZZI HEALING CHILDREN.

(After the fresco by *Andrea del Sarto* in the Church of the *Annunziata* at Florence.)



Bigio, and they had just taken rooms near the convent of the Nunziata. A friar of the Servi therefore, hearing much of the marvellous progress he was making, induced him for the sake of honour rather than profit to continue the painting of the life of San Filippo, the founder of the order, which had been begun by Cosimo Rosselli. By these works he made himself more widely known and was given many pictures to paint. The general of the monks of Vallombrosa entrusted to him the painting of the vaulting, and a Last Supper for the side of the refectory of the monastery of San Salvi, outside the Gate alla Croce: he began with four figures of saints, but this, with many other works, was left incomplete when he went to France. On his return the men of the Scalzo called upon him to continue the S. John the Baptist pictures, and he painted four more of them. On the side of the Gatea Pinti, which turns towards the Ingiesuati, he executed in fresco a Madonna with the Child in her arms, and a little smiling S. John. The head of the Virgin is a portrait of his wife, but from the exceeding beauty of this picture, which is really marvellous, the tabernacle was spared when the convent of the Ingiesuati was destroyed with the other buildings. The picture at San Salvi was left long unfinished, but at last a worthy and intelligent abbot determined to have it done, and this work is considered, and certainly is, the most facile in design and the most vivacious in

colour that he ever did, or, indeed, that any one could do—indeed, I do not know what words I could use about this Last Supper that would not be too poor. It is no wonder therefore that it also was left standing when the soldiers by command pulled down all the monasteries and hospitals round. They had already destroyed the church and the campanile, and were beginning upon the convent, when they came to the refectory where it is, and the man who was leading them saw this picture, and perhaps having heard of it as marvellous, would not let them destroy any more, and stopped the work of pulling down.

These monks of Vallombrosa had arranged, as early as 1515, to translate the body of San Giovanni Gualberto from the abbey of Passignano to the church of Santa Trinità in Florence, which belonged to the same order, and had given Benedetto da Rovezzano an order to make a chapel and a monument for it, with a great number of figures as large as life fitted into niches, with a quantity of ornaments and grotesques, and along the basement scenes from the saint's life. Benedetto had spent ten years of continual work upon it, and had been assisted by many workmen at great expense to the society, and was finishing the work in the house at Guarlondo, a place near San Salvi, outside the Gate alla Croce, where the general of the order usually lived. Benedetto had done the work to the admiration of all Florence, but as fate



would have it from discord among the monks, there was change of rule, and the work was left unfinished until 1530, and in the war all this labour and pains was utterly destroyed by the soldiers, the heads knocked off the bodies, and everything so utterly spoilt that the monks sold the remains for almost nothing. A part of it could be seen a few years ago in the workshop of Santa Maria del Fiore, where some pieces had been bought for broken marble.

While war was thus being prepared for, Pope Clement was considering where the besieging army could be quartered, and, thinking that the neighbourhood of the city should be known, he had a plan made secretly of the city—that is, of the country for a mile round, with all the hills and mountains, rivers and houses, and churches and everything; and the streets and piazzas inside, with the walls and bastions and all defences. It was given to Benedetto della Volpaia to do, a maker of clocks and quadrants, and a very good astrologer, but especially a great master of surveying. He engaged Il Tribolo to help him, and very wisely, for it was he who suggested that the plan should be made in relief so that the heights of the mountains, and such matters, could be considered. It was not done without much fatigue and peril, for spending nights out of doors, measuring the streets and the heights of the campanile and the towers, and placing them by means of the compass, and going outside to



compare the mountains with the cupola, which they had chosen for the centre, took many months' work ; and it was made of cork to be more light, and the whole thing was in the space of four braccia, and made in pieces. So when it was finished it was packed carefully, and hidden in some bales of wool, which were going to Perugia, and delivered to an agent of the Pope's. He used it constantly during the siege, keeping it in his chamber that he might see, according to the letters he received, where the camp was, where the skirmishing took place, and all the other accidents and occurrences of the siege, to his no little satisfaction.

The ambassadors at Genoa received no gracious answer from the Emperor's secretaries, and the Ten of War with the Gonfaloniere went on with their preparations for war. The Prince of Orange reduced Perugia, and marched into the Florentine territory ; and in September 1529 the siege began. He took up his first position at the Pian di Ripoli, and then moved to the hills round Florence on the south. He had all the east in his power, and behind him Siena to provide food and all sorts of assistance. He brought from Siena sixteen pieces of artillery, and, having fortified the hills of Arcetri and Santa Margherita to Montici, tried to take the Barduccio, while from the city they sallied forth to prevent the enemy establishing himself. The Florentines had placed two pieces on the campanile of the church of San Francesco, at San

Miniato, from which they could annoy the enemy. They therefore began firing into the city, and two captains were killed and others wounded, and there were daily skirmishes between them. The Prince, seeing he could not take it by assault, prepared for a long and terrible siege. The Pope would, no doubt, have been content with some outward show of submission, trusting to be able by secret intrigue to make it real later, rather than carry on such a manifestly wicked war to its conclusion.

Michael Angelo, who had been working with great assiduity and earnestness upon the Medici monuments, was obliged to leave them and give himself to the care of the fortifications. He had lent the city a thousand scudi, and was a member of the Nine who were appointed to the care of military affairs, and he gave himself heart and soul to perfecting the fortresses. But when the army had surrounded the city, and little by little all hope of aid from without failed, and the difficulty of maintaining their resistance grew greater, he determined to leave Florence and go to Venice without the knowledge of any one. He therefore left secretly by the San Miniato Hill, taking with him Antonio Mini, his pupil, and Il Peloto the goldsmith, a faithful friend of his, with money hidden in their clothes, and, having reached Ferrara, they were resting there. But from the natural suspicions of war-time, and because of his league with

the Pope and Emperor, Duke Alfonso da Este had required from the hosts of the inns that they should send him every day secretly the names of all those who were lodging with them, and a list of all foreigners. Michael Angelo, being there with the intention of remaining unknown, was thus discovered by the duke, who was greatly pleased at his being there, for that prince was a man of noble nature, delighting greatly in men of talent. He therefore sent the greatest officers of his court to bring him to the palace, and provide lodging for him there. Michael Angelo, being in another's power, was forced to obey, and went to the duke in his travelling clothes. The duke received him warmly, and gave him great presents, and wanted to persuade him to stay, offering him full provision for all his wants. He, however, refused, and the duke then prayed him not to leave while the war lasted, assuring him that he would do everything in his power for him. But Michael Angelo, not to be outdone in courtesy, thanked him much, and, turning to his companions, said that he had brought with him twelve thousand scudi, and that they were at his service. The duke took him through the palace, and showed him every beautiful thing he had, especially his own portrait from the hand of Titian, which he praised greatly; but he would not stop in the palace, and returned to the inn. The landlord was provided by the duke with quantities of things for him, and received orders

that at his departure he was to take nothing from him for his lodging.

He went from there to Venice, and, being visited by a great many gentlemen, which was a thing he greatly disliked, he left the Giudecca, where he had taken up his lodging. It is said that he made a drawing of the Rialto at the request of the Doge Gritti.

Michael Angelo was earnestly implored to return to his city, and not abandon the defence. They sent him a safe-conduct, and at last, moved by his love for his city, he returned not without peril of life. He immediately finished the Leda which he was doing for Duke Alfonso, and which was afterwards carried to France by Antonio Mini, his pupil. Meanwhile he was repairing the campanile of San Miniato, from which they could do great damage to the camp of the enemy with their two pieces of artillery, and therefore the bombardiers in the camp had turned their great cannon against it, and had injured it so that it would have fallen, but Michael Angelo hung bales of wool and thick mattresses round it, and so protected it that it is still in existence.

It is said that during the siege he made use of an opportunity to obtain from the Gonfaloniere a piece of marble from Carrara, nine braccia in length, for which he and Baccio Bandinelli had been contending. Michael Angelo made a model for it, but when the Medici returned it was given back to Baccio.

The news of the capture of Empoli by the

Prince of Orange caused great anxiety among the wiser citizens of Florence, but the simpler ones only grew more confident, and quoted the prophecies of Fra Girolamo, who had said that Florence would lose all her dominion and then be victorious. The Pope grew weary and anxious about the length of the war which he had undertaken to subdue his own city. He collected money by pledging the crown jewels, having a greater burden of expense than any of the Popes before him. Ashamed of so cruel a war, he fell into a deep melancholy, despairing of success, and almost resolving to abandon it.

But in Florence food of all sorts ran short, and they began to give up hope. Money failing, they laid hands on the goods of the Church, and search was made through the city, especially in the monasteries, for hidden food. At the beginning of June even cats were sold at a great price, and the poor were eating moles, and asses were meat for banquets where wine was scarce. Many began to say that Malatesta was not doing all he could. As a last resource, orders were sent to Ferruccio, who was holding Volterra, to raise all the troops he could and attack the besiegers. But the prince knew of his coming, and there is no doubt that Malatesta was in communication with him. The news arrived that Ferruccio had won the victory and that the Prince of Orange was slain, and it reached also the ears of the Pope, casting him into

deeper melancholy and despair ; but an hour after came the fall of Ferruccio, and the Pope, knowing that he had conquered and that the Prince was slain, rejoiced doubly. But the city rose up and called for an end to the war.

The Gonfaloniere in vain called to arms, and unfurled the banner of the people. It was concluded to send ambassadors, and in two days the terms were agreed upon. The city was to remain free, but the Medici to be re-admitted. On the 5th of August 1530 the peace was signed, after the siege had lasted eleven months, and there was not food for three days left in the city.

After the agreement was made, Baccio Valori, the Pope's commissary, was entrusted with the arrest of certain of the most prominent citizens, and they sought Michael Angelo in his house, but he, expecting it, had escaped to the house of one of his great friends, where he remained hidden for many days until, his anger having passed, Pope Clement remembered who Michael Angelo was, and gave orders that he should be sought for diligently, and nothing was to be said to him when he was found, or rather his usual salary was to be paid him, and he was to go back to his work in San Lorenzo. Being therefore made secure, Michael Angelo, to win Baccio Valori's favour, began a marble statue, three braccia high, representing an Apollo drawing an arrow from his quiver, and carried it nearly to completion.



The Magnifico Ottaviano de' Medici having expressed a desire to have some work from his hand, Andrea del Sarto, ready to work for one who was ever ready to help men of genius, especially painters, painted a Virgin sitting on the ground with the Holy Child astride her knee turning His head towards a little S. John, who is held up by the old S. Elizabeth. As soon as he had finished it, he took it to Messer Ottaviano, but as the enemy's army was then surrounding Florence, the gentleman had other things to think of, and, with excuses and thanks, bade him take it to somebody else. But all Andrea would say was, "I worked it for you and it shall be yours." "Sell it," replied Messer Ottaviano, "and make use of the money, for I quite understand what I am saying." Andrea went away and returned home, but, for all people could say, he would give the picture to no one, and, as soon as the siege was over and the Medici back in Florence, Andrea carried it again to Messer Ottaviano, who was glad enough to take it then, and gratefully paid him double for it.

During the siege some of the captains had run away carrying the soldiers' money with them. Andrea was employed to paint these men hanging by one foot on the façade of the Palace of the Podestà and in the piazza, and with them certain citizens who had been declared rebels and had fled. He agreed to do it, but lest he should be nicknamed, like Andrea dal Castagno, on a like occasion, Degli



Impiccati, he gave out that the work was to be done by one of his boys, Bernardo del Buda. But he made a closed erection, which he entered and left by night only, and so he himself worked the figures in a most natural and life-like manner, using some wax models which Il Tribolo made to help him. The soldiers, who were painted on the old Market Hall near the Condotta, have been already for many years white-washed over, that nobody may see them, and the citizens also which he painted on the Palace of the Podestà have been destroyed. Five months after the pacification, when the citizens had gone back to their occupations, the ruin that had come upon them became more apparent—the want of food, the destruction of their houses, the mortality among the country people. Already, as usual, the ruling citizens had begun to be at discord. Pope Clement, hearing of it, sent the Archbishop of Capua to live in the Casa Medici. He had been there with the Pope when he as cardinal was ruling the State, and knew the Palleschi citizens, and not less the Populani citizens, who, being attached to Fra Girolamo, were called Piagnoni. Meanwhile Francesco Valori and Palla Rucellai had been sent ambassadors to Brussels (the Pope wishing it to be done by the citizens themselves), to ask that he would send Alessandro de' Medici, the Emperor's son-in-law, to govern the city. While the Pope and the citizens were negotiating thus, Cardinal Ippolito de'

Medici came to Florence, tempted by the desire to rule his beautiful city, but not finding the citizens responsive to his desires he returned the next day to Rome. And the Imperial ambassador at Rome appeared in Florence with a brief from the Emperor declaring that the city, for the merits of Alessandro, should remain free and should accept him as its head and ruler in all things. In no long time therefore he arrived at Florence, and was received by the greater part of the people and conducted to the Casa Medici.

## CHAPTER XXIV

### TITIAN

AT the very same time that Giorgione was revealing the beauty of a genius in which, as all were convinced, painting had realised their highest hopes, and reassumed her ancient honours, Titian began to attract the eyes of the world to himself by works equally astounding. Although it was the universal opinion that Giorgione had gone to the very heart of the matter, and grasped the essence of art itself, yet, as in the brief period of his short life he had produced but few pictures, the development of his inventive genius had been cut short, and it needed the illustrious hand of Titian to carry the marvel of this new painting to perfection. Pieve is a little castle situated on the confines of Friuli, the capital of the seven communes of Cadore. It is surrounded on every side by inaccessible mountains and deep valleys, where the Piave, the famous torrent swollen by the melted snows, sometimes disdains its proper bed, and bursts its boundaries, overwhelming houses in its fury and sweeping away entire fields. In this remote but favoured site there was born to the ancient family of the Vecelli, which some say

had produced San Tiziano, the Bishop of Oderzo, a son, in the year 1477, the stars, with benign aspect, assisting at his birth. His amiable disposition and his gentle ways soon gave evidence of the gifts and graces which Heaven had bestowed upon him. In his childish years, though he was set to the study of letters, as is usual to boys of good birth, he applied himself to drawing as one destined by Heaven to a great work, and as quite a little boy he painted, entirely of himself, with the juice of flowers, the figure of the Virgin, which was destroyed not long ago when they were rebuilding the place. In consequence of this he was sent by his father Gregorio to Venice, and placed in the house of his uncle, and that he might make good use of his natural talent he was put with Giovanni Bellini. He stayed with him for some time, and learnt very easily his method of painting, making such progress that the difficulties that stood between Bellini and nature vanished before him.

Many things painted by Titian when he had left his master's school retain something of his style, but he changed his manner when he saw Giorgione's great improvement in colouring, though Vasari is mistaken in calling him his pupil, for Titian and he were of the same age, and they studied together in Giovanni Bellini's house. But his school-fellow's method of painting pleasing Titian very much, he became at the same time his imitator and his rival. There was no vanity among students in those days,

even when they were grown up, and they only aimed at advancing towards perfection by the most approved way.

So Titian transformed his style into that of Giorgione until the difference between them could not be perceived, and many portraits have been confused, some considering them painted by the one and some by the other, while in the German Exchange—of which the side facing the canal was painted by Giorgione, and Titian painted the land side—the style is the same. The figure of Judith placed over the entrance is very majestic, standing proudly with her left foot resting on the head of Holofernes, and the sword in her hand flaming with blood, and at her foot an armed servant with a gaily-coloured cap on his head ; but it is not by Giorgione, as Vasari has said. It is said that these pictures pleased the Venetians so much that they were much talked about, and some, pretending not to know by whom they were done, congratulated Giorgione on his great success in the German Exchange, chiefly praising the side facing the land. He told them that these were painted by Titian, and grew so angry about it that he would not work any more on that house.

Titian was invited afterwards to Vicenza, and painted the Judgment of Solomon in the Palace of the Curia there, in which he succeeded very well, his work at the Exchange having given him courage and self-confidence, and, indeed, painters have found

that this method of painting greatly helps them in oil painting. This great work, however, on the Curia has since been destroyed by rebuilding.

In 1511, Venice being struck with pestilence by the Divine Hand, Giorgione was cut off, leaving many works unfinished. Titian, as the man who painted most nearly in his style, was employed to complete them. Among them was a great painting in the Council Chamber, representing the Emperor Frederick I. kissing the foot of the Pope Alexander III. in the church of S. Mark, in which are portraits of the Doge Sebastiano Ziano, and Pietro Bembo, before he became Cardinal, Gonsalvo Ferrante, called the Great Captain, and many other illustrious personages of that time, so life-like, that they appear to breathe.

Giovanni Bellini in the last years of his life began a picture for Alfonso I., Duke of Ferrara, representing a number of Bacchante round a vat of red wine, with a drunken Silenus on an ass surrounded by his troop. This he had not been able to finish before his death. The duke had been preparing a small room in which a Ferrarese painter Dosso had been painting stories of Æneas, Mars and Venus, with Vulcan and two smiths at a forge, and he desired a picture of Bellini's for the room. Dosso was born just about the time when Heaven gave to Ferrara, or rather to the world, the divine Lodovico Ariosto; and though he was not as great among the painters as Ariosto

was among the poets, yet he did well enough for his works to be held in esteem in Ferrara, and for the gifted poet, with whom he was very intimate, to give him a place of honour in his famous poem. Dosso's name indeed has gained more fame from the pen of Ariosto than it ever would have gained from all the pencils and colours that he consumed during his life. It is indeed the greatest good fortune that can befall any one to be thus celebrated by great men, for the power of the pen makes many believe in the greatness of works which in themselves do not altogether merit praise. Dosso was much beloved by Duke Alfonso, first for his talents in painting, and secondly, because he was a most pleasant companion, in which kind of man the duke greatly delighted. He had a name in Lombardy for painting landscapes better than any one in fresco, or oil, or distemper, but chiefly in a German style. He painted a good picture in oil in the cathedral church, and worked in many rooms in the palace together with his brother Battista. They were always great enemies, but the duke made them work together. Bellini's picture being left unfinished, Titian was sent for to the court of Ferrara to complete it. He added a most delightful landscape; and for the room in which it was to be placed he made two pictures of the same size representing the Triumph of Bacchus. On the shores of the sea appears the god in the act of throwing himself from a chariot drawn by



two panthers, attracted by the beauty of Ariadne. Near the car is the little satyr dragging at the end of a rope the skull of the calf which was generally sacrificed at the feast of Bacchus. A number of Bacchantes are following with cymbals and other noisy instruments, while in the distance the ship of the faithless Theseus is seen sailing over the sea.

The duke also desired a portrait of himself and of the duchess, whom Titian represented in superb attire, with a veil and jewels on her head, and a dress of black velvet, standing majestically with her left hand resting on the shoulder of a Moorish slave. It is said that Titian became so dear to the duke, that from time to time when he came to Venice, where he used often to go, he would fetch him in his *bucintoro* and take him with him to Ferrara. While he was painting there he would be visited by Messer Lodovico Ariosto, who would discuss with him his divine poem, and get from him many suggestions for scenes, beautiful country, strange dresses, lovely women, for painting is silent poetry and poetry is speaking painting, as Tasso says of him who painted his Jerusalem,

“Muto poeta di pittor canoro.”

The painter, returning his affection, made a portrait of him which has much majesty of attitude. But although Titian's works were held in great esteem by those who understood art, he lived in Venice in



*Titian*

*Mansell*

ARIOSTO (?)  
(National Gallery, London)



narrow circumstances. A man of great genius may not be able to acquire riches unless favoured by fortune or those in authority. And so it happened to this great painter, a man indeed of great merit, yet he never enjoyed the fruits of his labours until he was called to the courts of the great, and in particular to the court of Charles V., the Emperor, by whose generous hand he was rewarded with regal gifts, honoured with titles, and provided with an annual stipend, an example followed by many princes which soon improved his position. In his fervent years he painted the great picture in the larger chapel of the friars, of our Lady ascending into heaven. It is said that while he was working at it, he was worried by their constant visits and by the reproaches of Fra Germano, who had the charge of the works, and who complained that he made the Apostles too large; and that it gave him no little trouble to clear up their misapprehensions and to make them understand that the figures must be in proportion to the great space that was represented, and that they would diminish in the distance; and although they were pleased with the good effect, they were not completely satisfied until the Imperial ambassador convinced them of their error (for men are not so easily persuaded by argument as when authority intervenes), for he, thinking it a marvellous picture, tried with large offers to obtain it, that he might send it to the Emperor. Upon this the fathers,

meeting in their chapter, came to wiser conclusions, and would on no terms part with it, recognising that it was no part of their business to understand it, and that the study of the breviary was very different from understanding painting.

He painted at this time also, by order of the Senate, two great portraits of the Doges Leonardo Loredano and Antonio Grimano, accompanied by their patron saints, and when, in the year 1523, Andrea Gritti, the famous captain of the Republic, was elected Doge, he immortalised the great hero with his sublime pencil, painting him with S. Andrew by his side. This was placed in the same hall with portraits of other Doges, Pietro Lando, Marc' Antonio Trivisano, and Francesco Veniero at the feet of our Lady, which has been engraved in wood. For these works Titian was given an appointment in the German Exchange, which brought him in an income of 400 scudi, with the duty of painting the portraits of the succeeding doges at a settled sum, but these with other pictures were burnt in the fire that consumed the Collegio. It was also decreed by the Senate that he should paint in the Great Council Hall the battle between the Imperialists and the Venetians at Cadore. He introduced into this a landscape from his own country, with the castle on a mountain lighted up with a flash of lightning issuing from dark-rolling clouds, and all the horrors of a sudden tempest. The horrible conflict

raging between horse and foot is shadowed and darkened by it, and the imperial banner, defended by men with long swords, is whirled by the sudden gust of wind into strange convolutions. Some men in armour have been thrown from their horses in the *mêlée*, and over the bridge which crosses the river is coming a troop of horsemen to their help, and among them shines the victorious banner of S. Mark. Near at hand is Liviano the general, leaning on his *bâton*, and a servant clad in red cloak is holding the bridle of a white horse, which, excited by the sound of the trumpet, is waving his shining white mane in the air, while a poor half-naked wretch, who has fallen into the water, is trying to climb up the bank, and a beautiful girl is clinging to the bushes. The whole work, in fact, is filled with numerous figures, in which Titian shows his knowledge of composition, the arrangement being natural, and yet so full of artistic skill, that it has been a pattern for every student to follow. It caused much disappointment to those who had criticised him as only a portrait painter. There are many copies of this picture to be seen, but they represent faintly the beauty of the original, which envious Fortune decreed should perish when the hall was burnt, though the design of it may be seen in Fontana's engraving.

Many other paintings Titian made in the Ducal Palace and in the churches of Venice. In Santi Giovanni and Paolo was placed the famous picture

of S. Peter Martyr. It is said that Il Pordenone and Palma Vecchio took part in the work, but Titian's genius prevails in every part of it, and it remains, in the opinion of all who understand, one of the best of his works, and marking the highest point to which he attained.

In the month of February 1530, the Emperor Charles, while his armies and the Pope's lay round Florence, received the crown at Bologna on S. Matthew's Day, his birthday. He had received one crown three days before, for it should be understood that emperors in modern times have three crowns, one of silver, which Charles had received many years before, which confirms the empire of Germany; the second of iron, which should be assumed in Monza, near Milan, which confirms the dominion of Lombardy, and this he had received three days before in San Petronio from the hand of the Pope, in the presence of ambassadors; and the third, a golden crown, which should be assumed in Rome, which confirms the Roman Empire. This, then, was the one he received in Bologna, the Pope having come thither to meet him, and it was placed upon his head with great pomp and ceremony after mass had been celebrated and the Emperor had communicated; and thus he was anointed King of the Christian People. A bridge had been erected from the palace to the church of San Petronio for the Pope and Emperor, and great lords and ambassadors from all parts of



the world, to pass over ; and as they went along, it gave way a couple of yards behind the Emperor where he had just passed. A good many of the common people, who were standing below, were killed by the fall, but it was held to be a lucky omen for the Emperor that he had been so near to such a peril and had escaped.

Fame had now made Titian's name known everywhere, but he knew the value of his works, and complained to his friend Partenio that he could not obtain for them a sum equal to their labour. Partenio made use of his pen therefore to recommend him to great princes, and at the coronation he spoke of his friend in the presence of Cæsar in such a manner, that he was sent for in haste to come to his court, and, it is said that, as soon as he heard of his arrival, he ordered him to be brought before him, and received him with every sign of honour, and ordered him at once to set to work upon his portrait. It represents him seated in graceful dignity, in shining armour, on a bay horse with a star on its forehead, richly caparisoned, and bearing itself as if proud of its burden; and that glorious monarch is represented in such a life-like manner, that when the picture was placed at the head of an archway it was taken at first sight for the Emperor himself, at which Cæsar was greatly astonished, seeing himself reflected by Titian's hand, and rejoicing that his image should be revered by all.

When the Emperor left Bologna, Titian returned to Venice with many marks of honour, and carrying with him a thousand gold scudi for the portrait, which caused much remark, and aroused much jealousy among those who cannot endure to see a man raised to any greatness, for there are those who think that talent ought to be always in rags, dependent on the pity of the more fortunate.

He was then employed to paint an Annunciation for the nuns of the Angioli di Murano, but not coming to terms with them he sent the picture to the Emperor, or, as some say, to the Empress, receiving for it two thousand scudi. And soon after Cardinal Ippolito de' Medici, the Emperor's ambassador, passing through Venice, he painted him in a Hungarian dress, and was persuaded to accompany him to Bologna, where he made a second portrait of Charles, which Partenio celebrated in a sonnet. It is said that at that time he painted also the Cardinal Ippolito in armour, the Marquis, and the Duke Federico Gonzaga, who took Titian back with him to Mantua.

Some years afterwards he was summoned to the Imperial Court, and carried with him to the Emperor Charles V. a picture of a dead Christ, and a most rare Venus. There, for the third time, he painted the Emperor, in bronze armour worked with gold, as he was in his old age; and it is related that while drawing him he dropped a pencil,

and the Emperor picked it up for him, and that Titian, quite overwhelmed, cried, "Sire, your servant does not deserve such an honour ;" to which he replied, "Titian deserves to be served by Cæsar." He also painted for him a frieze of the illustrious men of the Austrian house to go round a room, and at the Emperor's desire introduced his own portrait last. The generous prince, besides the gift of a thousand gold scudi, every time that he painted his portrait, created him Cavaliere, girding on his sword with his own hands, and conferred upon him the title of Count Palatine, with letters of nobility for his descendants and special privileges. And that he might be able to keep up the title honourably he assigned him two hundred scudi annually from the Milan exchequer, gave Pomponio a canonry in the cathedral of Milan, and made Orazio, his other son, a Spanish subject, with a pension of five hundred scudi. Titian became so intimate with his Majesty that he went in and out of the imperial apartments as he pleased ; and in the journeys that he made with him he was by his side among the ambassadors. The unusual favours conceded to Titian by the generous Emperor awoke envy in the minds of some, even of some of the princes, who complained that he was too familiar with a painter, while they had to wait long for an audience, but to this Cæsar replied that there were many princes and but one Titian. But Titian understood how to make a wise use of

these favours, and to make himself pleasant to his rivals.

He painted at the same time Prince Philip of Spain, for whom later he produced many works, and was rewarded with gifts and an annual provision. It was a happy age and a fortunate time when painting was so munificently recompensed by the hands of the great. From thence he went to Innspruck, and executed the portrait of Ferdinand, the King of the Romans, with Queen Mary his wife, and his seven noble little daughters in one picture—as it were, a heaven of terrestrial deities; and it is said that every time these princesses went to be painted they carried a jewel as a gift to the painter. Besides the other gifts, Titian obtained for his brother Francesco a license for the transport of timber from the Tyrol, with a donative of three hundred scudi.

He stayed in Germany for the space of five years, and carried back to Venice eleven thousand scudi, so that we may say that while he was the first in his art, he was also the most fortunate of his time. On his return he went to the government and told the Doge and the Senate, as a faithful subject should, how he had worked for the Emperor and King Ferdinand, and the favours he had received; and he offered to execute the three great pictures which were required to finish the decorations of the Great Council Chamber. The Doge commended him, and accepted the offer.

For the Emperor he painted also a S. Sebastian and a great picture of Paradise, which was sent to him to the monastery of San Giusto, where he ended his life. This Philip II., his son, afterwards transported to the Escorial, to adorn that majestic building. He sent him also a picture of our Lady meditating upon the Passion, which awoke emotion in the heart of the great Emperor; and when he heard that he had received it, Titian wrote him the following letter :—

“Invincible Cæsar, I thank the Divine Majesty that the picture of the Madonna Addolorata painted by me has reached your Imperial Highness in the state I desired ; if it has satisfied your Majesty, I have obtained my highest desire ; if it is otherwise, I pray your Majesty to return it that I may labour to make it satisfactory.” And finally, he painted in his honour the allegorical picture of Religion persecuted by Heresy.

He continued in the service of the Catholic King with the title of the King’s Painter, and executed many devotional pictures for him, especially the great painting of the Magdalene. The idea of the figure was taken from an ancient marble ; but he also made use of a very beautiful girl, who stood very patiently in that attitude, and, pouring out floods of tears, displayed the effect that he represented so marvellously. It is said that while he was painting he was so intent on his work that he forgot to eat, and he sent it to the King with let-

ters, saying that her tears would intercede for him and procure the payment of the pension assigned to him which the king's ministers had delayed to pay him. For the same king he painted the fable of Venus and Adonis, Andromeda and Perseus, and many others; and lastly, the Last Supper, of which he says, writing to the king, "It is now finished after seven years' constant work."

It would be long to tell of all the princes and ladies, and learned men whom he painted, and it would be difficult to trace out all his works scattered through Italy, Germany, France, Spain, and England. Of the Popes he painted Julius II. and Clement VII. Clement died after a long illness in 1534. A man of great intelligence, and raised to the supreme dignity by his reputation, he went through both prosperous and adverse times with courage, though he often brought disaster upon himself by the inconstancy and impulsiveness of his nature. By prudent and sagacious men his death was not considered unfortunate for Italy. In his place came Alessandro Farnese, Paul III. His illustrious birth, his prudence, and strength of character, and his independence of all the rulers of Europe had in a singular manner procured him the love and favour of all; and all who wished for peace, especially in Italy, trusted that he would obliterate the memory of past disaster and make his pontificate glorious. The Emperor, on his election, sought to renew the league with the





*Titian*

*Anderson*

ISABELLA OF PORTUGAL  
(Prado Gallery, Madrid)





princes of Italy, by which he hoped to impede the designs of the French ; and the Venetians declared themselves ready. But the Pope showed himself adverse, answering that from the position to which he had been raised, he saw it to be his duty to manifest himself as the common pastor and father of all, and that his desire was to unite all against the Turks, that when they were overcome and peace was restored, all alike might give themselves to the extermination of heresy. Every effort was made to form a league against the Turks. It was not easily accomplished ; there was much to be discussed respecting the money, arms, and ships to be provided by the respective allies. But the pontiff thought it best to defer these matters and publish at once the league between the Christian princes, and declare war against Soliman. This was done in Rome and Venice with great solemnity. Pope Paul, either from natural inclination or from a sense of duty, was burning with zeal for the welfare of the Christians. Unwearied in his efforts to unite the sovereigns, he omitted no opportunity that offered.

In the hall of the Cancelleria, in the palace of San Giorgio, are scenes from the life of Pope Paul painted from life, Universal peace between all Christians made by Pope Paul III., and especially between the Emperor Charles and King Francis. And there also is Pope Paul intent on building, especially on the building of S. Peter's. Before

him kneel Painting, Sculpture, and Architecture, unfolding the plan of S. Peter's, and receiving from him directions for bringing it to its conclusion.

When Pope Paul came to Ferrara, Titian was summoned thither by Cardinal Farnese, and painted a portrait of the pontiff, who did his utmost to persuade him to accompany him to Rome, but he had entered the service of the Duke Francesco Maria della Rovere. At that time the attention of the whole world was occupied by the great armament led by Cæsar against Tunis to break the power of the corsairs, who were constantly menacing the kingdom of Naples. A pontifical bull was issued commanding that all through Italy processions should be made to entreat the Almighty to receive their confessions of sin, and to be propitious to the expedition. And when the Emperor had brought the enterprise to a glorious termination, and, arriving with his victorious fleet in Sicily, had disbanded his troops, he was received with great joy. Then he came to Rome, and by order of the Pope, Antonio da San Gallo, the younger, made great and sumptuous preparations for his reception, and all the artists were employed upon it, good and bad.

“The Pope sent for me,” says Cellini, “and consulted me about a present to give to the Emperor. I told him that the most suitable thing would be a cross of gold for which I had already made part of the decoration ; that it would be very appropriate,

and would do great honour to his Holiness and me. I had already made three little figures in gold about a handbreadth in size (they had been begun for Pope Clement's chalice, and were meant for Faith, Hope, and Charity), and to these I added a wax model of the cross and the Christ with all the rest of the ornamentation, and took it to the Pope, and he was quite satisfied with it; and before I left we agreed about how it was to be done, and pretty nearly about the price it was to cost. That was at four o'clock in the evening, and the Pope bade Messer Latino Juvinale give me the money the next day. But this Messer Latino, who was a very foolish fellow, suggested a new idea to the Pope quite out of his own head to upset all that had been arranged, and the next day, when I was going for the money, he said with his stupid presumption, 'The idea is our affair, you have only to carry it out; before I left the Pope last night we thought of something much better.' I would not let him go any further, but answered at once, 'Neither you nor the Pope can think of anything better than what has Christ in it.' He went off in a rage, and tried to get the work given to another goldsmith; the Pope would not agree, but he sent for me and told me that I had spoken well, but that they wanted to use a book of Hours which had been illuminated marvellously well, and which had cost the Cardinal de' Medici two thousand scudi, and that they thought of presenting it

to the Emperor ; that what I had proposed was indeed a worthy present, but there was so little time, for the Emperor was expected in a month and a half. He wanted therefore a cover made for the book, of solid gold, richly worked and adorned with jewels. The jewels were worth about six thousand scudi. So they gave me the jewels and the gold, and I set to work upon it, and in a few days it began to look so beautiful that the Pope was surprised, and praised it much, and promised me that that donkey Juvinale should not come near me. When the work was nearly done the Emperor appeared, and a great number of triumphal arches were set up, and he entered Rome with marvellous pomp. He presented the Pope on his arrival with a diamond which had cost him twelve thousand scudi. About the diamond, the Pope sent for me to get me to set it in a ring for his Holiness. But he wanted me first to finish the book. When I had taken the book to him he was very pleased with it ; and then we consulted together what valid excuse could be made to the Emperor for the work not being finished. I said the best excuse was that I had been ill, which his Majesty would easily believe, because I looked so thin and miserable. The Pope said the idea pleased him, but that I was to say to the Emperor from him, that when he presented the book to him, he presented me also ; and he told me how I was to behave, and the words I was

to say, and I repeated them to the Pope, asking him if I said them right. He answered, 'You say them very well, if only you have the courage to speak to the Emperor as you speak to me.' Then I said I could be much more sure of having the courage to speak to the Emperor; for the Emperor was dressed just as I was, and I should be speaking to a man like myself; but when I was speaking to his Holiness there was much more of the deity from the ecclesiastical ornaments which made a kind of aureole around the beautiful old age of his Holiness, all which made me more afraid than anything of the Emperor's. To which words the Pope answered: 'Go, Benvenuto, you are a worthy man; do us honour, and it will be well for you.'

"The Pope ordered two horses which had been Pope Clement's—the most beautiful ones in Christendom—to be taken by his chamberlain and presented to the Emperor. So we went together, and when we reached the Emperor's presence, the two horses entered the room with so much dignity that all were astonished. The chamberlain Durante spoke so badly with a number of Brescian words, as if his tongue was tied in a knot, that the Emperor could hardly help laughing. Meanwhile, I was standing with my work uncovered, and, seeing the Emperor turn his eyes towards me in a gracious manner, I went forward and said, 'Sacred Majesty, our most holy Pope Paul sends this book of Our

Lady to your Majesty, which has been written and illuminated by the greatest man of the profession; and this rich cover in gold is unfinished because of my indisposition, and so his Holiness, with the book, presents me also, that I may accompany your Majesty and finish the book, and whatever he wishes, I will serve him as long as he lives.' The Emperor answered, 'The book pleases me well, and you too, but I should wish you to finish it for me here in Rome, and, when it is finished and you are recovered, bring it to me.' In speaking to me he called me by my name, which surprised me much, for my name had not been mentioned, and then he told me he had seen the brooch that I had made for Pope Clement, which I had modelled so wonderfully. So he talked for a whole half-hour, speaking of many matters of art very pleasingly, and when I thought I had got through rather better than I expected, and the conversation slackened a little, I made my reverence and took leave. I heard the Emperor say, 'Give Benvenuto five hundred scudi at once'; but the messenger who brought it asked for 'the Pope's man who had been talking to the Emperor,' and Messer Durante put himself forward, and so I was robbed of my five hundred scudi. I complained to the Pope, and he told me not to be afraid, that he knew how well I had got on in talking to the Emperor, and that I should get my share of the money."



In 1548 Titian was prevailed upon to come to Rome by Cardinal Farnese, who preferred him to any other painter; and there, for the second time, he painted Paul III. He was represented talking with Duke Ottavio and the cardinal. For the Duke Ottavio he painted a most beautiful Danae, which Michael Angelo saw and praised greatly, affirming it to be impossible to manage colour better, although Vasari asserts that he found fault with the drawing; but every sober judge considers that Titian was incomparable in expressing the female form, in which the muscles should not be strongly marked. Besides many gifts to himself, the Pope presented a valuable benefice to his son Pomponio; but the bishopric of Ceneda, offered by the Pope, he refused, not considering him equal to the charge. The Pope tried to keep him at his court by offering him the office of the Piombo, vacant by the death of Fra Sebastiano; but Titian refused it, not liking the jealousies and hypocrisies of courts, and preferring to return to his accustomed liberty and his friends.

Michael Angelo, though he wished rather to have carried to completion the tomb of Julius II., had entered Pope Paul's service, and completed the Last Judgment in the Sistine Chapel, and other works for him. And when Antonio da San Gallo died, and one was wanted to carry on the work of S. Peter's, Pope Paul sent for him to put him into the place; but he refused, saying that architecture was not his proper art. The Pope, how-

ever, when entreaties availed nothing, commanded him to accept the post, and so, against his will and indeed to his great displeasure, he was forced to undertake the great work.

About the year 1570 Cornelius Corte, a Flemish engraver, came to Venice, and Titian received him into his house, and employed him in engraving some of his pictures. He was a good artist and one of the first who produced delicate work in copper, and he found it of the utmost utility to have the master by his side, ready to give him advice and assistance. He made many drawings for the purpose of their being engraved, and designed cartoons to be reproduced in mosaic.

Titian continued to work to extreme old age, and left unfinished several works, among others a dead Christ in the arms of the sorrowing mother. It came into the hands of Palma after his death, and he finished it, adding some little angels, and the following inscription:—

Quod Titianus inchoatum reliquit,  
Palma reverenter perfecit,  
Deoque dicavit opus.

Some of his works perished in the time of the Plague, and many were dispersed by his son Pomponio, who wasted his patrimony.

People came from the remote regions of the earth to Venice to feast their eyes not only on the delights of that beautiful city, safe founded on the sea, but still more to see Titian, who stood as alone among

painters as Venice is alone among the nations. He was visited in his own house by Henry III., King of France and Poland, accompanied by the Dukes of Ferrara, Mantua, and Albino; and as they conversed together Titian narrated to them the honours that the Emperor and King Ferdinand and the Catholic King had bestowed on him, and presented the king with the pictures that pleased him. He displayed in his manner of life very lofty ideas, keeping a large household, dressing splendidly, and, when travelling or in the courts of princes, very generous in his expenses. It is said that once unexpectedly he had to entertain the Spanish Cardinals Granuella and Pacecco, and that he threw his purse to his servants and told them to prepare dinner for everybody while he was touching up their portraits. He had very courteous manners, and, although he had not studied literature, he was endowed with natural understanding, and his intercourse with courts taught him the language of gentlemen. He used to say that his talents were a special gift of Heaven, and therefore he did not make a boast of them; but when a painter asked him once to look at a picture he had painted, he said that it pleased him as much as if he had done it himself. Even in extreme old age, and scarcely able to see, he imitated the famous Apelles, and never let a day pass without some design in charcoal or clay. He was, indeed, indefatigable in work, and drew everything patiently from nature; yet from the

length of his life, the amount of his work was very great. He made good use of statues in his pictures, but he used always to study afterwards from life, so that they did not appear as mere imitations. Like Giorgione, he used very few colours, and preferred red and blue for the drapery, because they bring out the flesh tints well. He was in the habit of keeping pictures for a long time, covering them up after he had finished them, and some time after bringing them out again to work upon.

## CHAPTER XXV

### GIULIO ROMANO AT MANTUA

IN the palace of San Sebastiano at Mantua, there is a room painted partly in oil and partly in distemper by Lorenzo Costa. Here in a series of pictures he represented the Marquis Francesco Gonzaga and the Marchioness, and their three sons, Federigo, Ercole, and Ferrante, who have all become illustrious men. In one painted many years after, and one of the last things that Costa painted is the Marquis Federigo, grown to be a man and holding a staff in his hand, as General of the Holy Church under Leo X.

As we have said, when Giulio Romano separated from Giovanfrancesco he was employed on several architectural works, and so obtained the reputation of being the greatest artist in Italy now that Raffaello was dead. A great friend of his, the Count Baldassare Castiglioni, who was then the ambassador of Federigo Gonzaga in Rome, was ordered by the marquis to find him an architect for work he was planning in the palace and city of Mantua, and the marquis gave him to understand that he should prefer Giulio. He therefore assailed him with prayers and promises, until he agreed to go

if Pope Clement would give him leave. The leave being granted, Giulio returned with the count to Mantua, and had a flattering reception from the marquis, who gave him a furnished house and provisions for himself and his pupil and another boy who served him, and, what is more, sent him velvet and satin and clothes of price for his dress, and, hearing that he had no horse, sent for a favourite horse, named Luggieri, and presented it to him ; and as soon as he had mounted, they rode together through the gate of San Bastiano about a bowshot to a place called the Te, in the middle of the fields, where he had his stables. The marquis explained that he should like the place arranged so that it would do for pleasure-parties, where they could dine or sup on occasion, but without pulling down the old walls. Giulio therefore, after inspecting the place and taking a plan of it, set to work, and, preserving the old walls, made in the larger part of it the first hall with a suite of chambers around ; and because there was no stone in the place nor convenience for masonry work, he made use of bricks and terra-cotta, and covered it with stucco, making columns with their bases, and capitals and cornices and gateways and windows, finely proportioned, and with a new quaint manner of ornamenting the ceiling, and beautiful with drawing-rooms and richly-ornamented boudoirs. And so from an insignificant beginning the marquis was drawn into making it into a great palace. For





*Giulio Romano*

THE FEAST AT THE MARRIAGE OF CUPID AND PSYCHE  
(*Palazzo del Tè, Mantua*)

*Alinari*





Giulio having made a beautiful model with rustic work outside and in the court, the marquis was so pleased with it that he provided plenty of money, and Giulio soon found good workmen, and so it was carried to perfection in a short time.

The building is square, and has an open court in the middle for a pleasance, into which open four entrances: the first leads into a very large loggia, which takes you into the garden, and two others go to certain apartments. They are ornamented with carving and pictures, and the hall into which the first leads is painted in fresco, the ceiling being divided into compartments, and on the sides are the portraits from life of all the favourite horses of the marquis' special breed, and with them his dogs, of the same colour and marking as the horses and with their names written, drawn by Giulio, and painted in fresco by Benedetto Pagni and Rinaldo Mantovano, his pupils, and indeed they are life-like. This leads into a room in the side of the house in which is painted the marriage of Cupid and Psyche, with the earlier story of Psyche. From this room one passes into another worked with figures in bas-relief, from Giulio's designs by Francesco Primaticcio, then a young man, and Giovanbatista Mantovano, representing soldiers from the Trajan Column at Rome. Passing along the loggia one arrives in other rooms full of such various fancy and invention that the mind is quite confused, for

Giulio, who was ingenious and full of strange fancies, determined on working a room corresponding to the Psyche room, to show how he could deceive the eyes of those who looked at it. He therefore had that corner which was in a marshy place built high on good foundations, and made above a great round room with very thick walls, so that the four corners of this wall should be strong enough to support a double round vaulting for a furnace. Within, he built the windows and doors of rustic stonework rudely cut, and, as it were, crooked and upheaved in such a way that it appeared to be falling, and then on this strangely-built wall he painted the most extraordinary picture that any one could imagine, representing Jupiter overthrowing the Giants. In the highest part of the vaulting he placed the throne of Jupiter in a round temple with columns, and the eagle standing by above the clouds. Below stood Jupiter hurling the thunderbolts in wrath upon the proud Giants, and, below again, Juno aiding him with the winds blowing on the earth, and the other gods and goddesses standing by. No work done by a painter's pencil was ever more terrific or more natural; and no one entering the room, and seeing the windows and doors leaning, and, as it were, giving way, and the mountains and buildings falling, can help fearing that it will all come down on him, while he is gazing on the gods running hither and thither, and the remarkable thing about

it, it has no beginning and no end, so that the things which are near the windows seem large, and those farther off small, and they go away and are lost to sight in the infinite distance, and the room which is only fifteen braccia long becomes a country with wide views.

Besides this palace, Giulio rebuilt many of the rooms in the castle which the duke inhabited. Titian, who had painted both the duke and his brother the cardinal, had worked some half-length pictures of the Twelve Cæsars, armed in strange armour with ancient cuirasses and royal mantles, crested helmets and golden crowns on their heads; and although they were taken from statues and coins, yet he had painted with such care that they seemed to be drawn from life. Giulio Romano decorated a room in the castle with scenes from the Trojan War, and these twelve Cæsars being placed in the ante-chamber, he painted below them also historical scenes.

At this time came the war in Lombardy and the army of the Germans marching upon Rome, and it fell out that Signor Giovanni de' Medici, when he was wounded by a musket, as we have said, was carried to Mantua and died there. Pietro Aretmo, who was that general's most affectionate servant and also a great friend of Giulio's, prayed Giulio to take a cast of the dead man's face, and the portrait was in Aretmo's possession for many years.

Afterwards, when the Emperor Charles came to Mantua, Giulio was employed by the duke in

making triumphal arches and scenes for comedies and masquerades and such things, in which Giulio had no equal, for he had a genius for all that was whimsical and grotesque. At different times he produced an infinite number of designs for chapels and houses and gardens for Mantua, taking great pleasure in beautifying the city, so that where before it had been marshy and almost uninhabitable, he made it dry and healthy and most pleasant.

While Giulio was in the duke's service the Po burst its boundaries and overflowed the city, so that in certain low parts the water was four braccia deep, and the frogs stayed there all the year. Giulio considered the way to remedy it and took measures to bring it back to its first boundaries; and that it might not come again, by order of the duke the streets were raised on that side so much that they were above the windows, and as there were only small unimportant houses there he gave orders that they should be pulled down and rebuilt higher to improve and beautify the city. Many, being opposed to this, complained to the duke that Giulio was doing great harm. He would not listen to them, but made Giulio the master of the works, and ordered that no one should build anything in the city without Giulio's consent; and when it came to the ears of the duke that many grumbled and some threatened Giulio, he gave them to understand that he should consider anything done to him as done against himself.

“The world was darkened,” says Cellini, “by plague and war, and it was with the greatest difficulty I got through to Mantua ; but as soon as I arrived I began to work, and was employed by a certain Master Niccolò, a Milanese, who was the Duke of Mantua’s goldsmith. Two days after I had got work, I went to visit Messer Giulio Romano, that excellent painter, a close friend of mine, who received me very warmly and complained much that I had not dismounted at his door. He was living like a lord, and employed on a work for the duke in a place called Te, outside the walls. It was a great and wonderful piece of work. Messer Giulio at once spoke to the duke about me with great praise, and he gave me a commission for a model of a casket to contain the Holy Blood, which they possess there, brought thither by Longinus, and he told Messer Giulio to make a design for it. But he answered : ‘ My Lord, Benvenuto is a man who has no need of others’ help, and that your excellency will see when you see his model.’ So I made a design for a reliquary capable of containing the bottle, and then made a little model in wax of a Christ seated, with His left hand raised and holding His great cross and leaning upon it, while with His right hand He appeared to be opening the wound in His side. The model being finished pleased the duke so much that he overwhelmed me with favours and gave me to understand that he would keep me in his service, on such terms that I should grow rich

in it. Meanwhile I made my reverence to the cardinal, his brother, and he requested the duke to let me make the pontifical seal of his court, which I began. But while I was working upon it a quartan fever seized me, and while it was upon me it deprived me of my reason, and I began to curse Mantua and its master, and all who voluntarily lived there. The words were repeated to the duke by his Milanese goldsmith, who saw clearly that the duke meant to employ me. The duke, hearing the words I spoke in my sickness, was much irritated with me, and I, in consequence, was irritated with Mantua, our anger being about equal. When therefore the seal was finished, which was at the end of four months, and a few other little things done for the duke in the name of the cardinal, for which I was well paid, I asked leave to return to Rome."

The duke was such an admirer of Giulio's talents that he could not live without him, and, on the other hand, Giulio had the greatest veneration for him. He never asked any favour for himself or for others without obtaining it, and when he died it was found that from the duke's gifts he had an income of more than a thousand ducats. He built himself a house in Mantua, opposite San Barnaba, with a fantastic façade, worked in coloured stucco, and painted and plastered inside, in which he kept many antiques brought from Rome. The number of buildings he designed in Mantua and round about



is hard to believe, but, as has been said, nobody could build in the city palaces or anything of importance without his design. Everything connected with art was so easy to him, particularly drawing, that we cannot remember anybody who has done more than he. He could talk on any subject, but best about medals, on which he spent much money and a great deal of time, and though he was generally engaged on great things, he would put his hand to the very smallest things to serve his lord and his friends, and the moment a wish was expressed, the thing was drawn. Among the other curious things that he had in his house was the portrait of Albert Dürer on a kind of thin cloth, painted by the German artist, and sent to Raffaello. It was a rare piece of work in water-colours, and Albert had finished it without using any white paint, making the white cloth serve instead, and the hairs of the beard were represented in a way so subtle that it is hard to imagine how it was done. It was transparent to the light. Giulio showed Vasari this portrait, which he considered very precious, when he went to Mantua on business.

When Duke Federigo died, by whom he had been so much beloved, Giulio was so troubled that he would have left Mantua altogether, though he had a wife and children, and a house and everything he could desire there, if the duke's brother, the cardinal, on whom fell the government of the

city—Federigo's children being very young—had not detained him. The cardinal wanted his help, especially in restoring, or rather, rebuilding, the cathedral.

Giorgio Vasari, a great friend of Giulio's, though he only knew him by fame and by letters, going to Venice, took the road by Mantua on purpose to see Giulio and his works. When he arrived he went to look for his friend, whom he had never seen; and when they met they knew each other at once, as if they had often met before. And Giulio was so pleased and delighted, that for four days they never separated; but he showed him all his things, and particularly the drawings of ancient buildings of Rome and Naples, Pozzuolo, Campagna, and all the best antiquities drawn either by him or by others. Then he opened a great cupboard, and showed the plans of all the buildings which had been made from his designs, not only in Mantua and Rome, but all over Lombardy, and so beautiful were they that I, for my part, do not believe it would be possible to find any more original, or more full of fancy, or more convenient. When the cardinal asked Giorgio what he thought of Giulio's work, he answered, Giulio being present, that they were such that there ought to be a statue of him in every corner of the city, and that half the State would not be enough to reward him for his labours. The cardinal answered that Giulio was more the master of the State than he was.

Vasari left Mantua and went to Venice and thence to Rome, where he arrived just as Michael Angelo had uncovered his Last Judgment, and he sent Giulio three drawings of the Seven Deadly Sins from Michael Angelo's Judgment, which Giulio was very pleased with, partly because of their value, and partly because he was working on a chapel in the palace for the cardinal, and he was glad to get something to rouse his mind to greater things. Making therefore an extreme effort, he produced the drawing for the Calling of Andrew and Peter, which was the finest he had ever drawn. When Antonio da San Gallo died at Rome, those in charge of the works of S. Peter's were in no little trouble to find any one to undertake the work, and considered that no one would be more suitable than Giulio. And thinking that he would be more than willing to accept such a charge, and return to his native place with honour and a good stipend, they tried to tempt him through his friends, but in vain; for, although he would gladly have gone, two things detained him—the cardinal, who would not let him go, and his wife and friends. But perhaps they would not have been able to prevent him if he had not been ill at the time, and the struggle between the desire to accept the honour and the pressure put upon him by the cardinal, which made him fear he would never go back to Rome, increased his illness so much that in a few days he died.

## CHAPTER XXVI

### TROUBLES IN VENICE

HEAVEN had bestowed as many gifts on Francesco Vecelli as on Titian, and he would have earned as great fame if he had not given himself more to arms than to painting. As we have said, Titian obtained for him privileges from Ferdinand, which made him devote himself to trade, as some say from jealousy, fearing lest his brother might prove an obstacle to his success.

Many pupils came to study with the great artist, and there were not wanting those who came over the mountains to put themselves under his teaching. The story goes that when he left the house he used to leave his keys in the door of the room where his most valued things were, and he had no sooner gone than they used to set to work to make copies of his best works, one of them meanwhile keeping guard. Then after a time Titian looking over the pictures would touch up the copies they had made, and they passed as works from his own hand. His nephew Marco was brought up in his house, and had special opportunities of studying his method of colour. There are works of his in

the hall of the Council of Ten, the Doge Leonardo Donato specially favouring him. He would never be painted by any one else, and constantly obtained employment for him. His son Tiziano's works have been much admired by artists.

But Titian was not so good a master as he was a painter. He could not endure the trouble of teaching. He was always hard and fault-finding with Paris Bordone, who was eager to learn, and drove Il Tintoretto out of his studio, so that it is true that there were not many who were really his pupils.

Paris Bordone was the son of a gentleman of Treviso and a noble Venetian lady. He was sent as a child to Venice, and brought up in the study of letters, music, and the ordinary education of a gentleman. Having shown himself possessed of considerable talent, he was placed with Titian, but he did not stay with him for long, but, instead, devoted himself to the study of the works of Giorgione, and when he was come to years retired to his native place, yielding the field to his master. He, however, often came to Venice, where he grew in people's estimation, and, working in other cities, his pictures were carried as far as France, and he was invited by King Francis to his court. There he painted his portrait, and that of many of the most beautiful ladies of France, and greatly pleased that generous king, who took delight in watching him paint, and also in listening to his playing on

the lute. It is said that Paris finally settled in Venice, and passed the rest of his life in ease and comfort, painting at his ease, and only when he felt inclined, for he had amassed a sufficient fortune.

Alessandro Moretto, of the noble family of the Bonvicini, at Brescia, was as a boy in Titian's house for some time learning art, while he tried at the same time to follow the manner of Raffaello. In Brescia and its neighbourhood we find many of his pictures. Twelve miles from Brescia, in a church built on the top of Monte Paitone, there is still a miraculous picture of the Virgin, which Il Moretto painted at the request of the Commune, on the occasion of a miraculous event. A country fellow was gathering wild mulberries on the mountain, when the Blessed Virgin appeared to him in the guise of a grave matron, clad in white, and charged him to go to the people and bid them build a church in her honour on the summit of the hill, promising that if that were done an epidemic sickness, with which they were afflicted, should be removed. The youth obeyed, and was himself restored to health. When the building was finished Il Moretto was entrusted with the painting. He endeavoured with great earnestness to reproduce the figure of the Virgin as the rustic described her, but found all his efforts vain. He feared it must be in consequence of some grave sin that he was unable to do it, and with deep devotion





*Moretto da Brescia*

PORTRAIT OF A BOTANIST  
(Palazzo Rosso, Genoa)

*Alinari*





sought reconciliation with God, and received the holy Eucharist; then applying himself with renewed courage to the work, her image appeared in the picture just as she was seen by the country man, whom he painted at her feet with the wild mulberries in his hand. The people constantly resorted to the church, and obtained from the divine hand many mercies and favours. It is related of another picture of our Lady, which he painted for a church of Bergamo, that the lightning striking the altar and destroying all its decorations left the divine figure untouched. There are also several portraits by Moretto, and among them his own, in a doublet of many colours, and by these pictures Il Moretto made himself known at home and abroad as a good draughtsman and colourist, who showed much pious feeling in the representation of sacred pictures.

Andrea Sansovino having acquired the name of being, after Buonarroti, the best sculptor and architect in Italy, Jacopo, a son of the family De' Tatti, in Florence, was placed with him to learn sculpture. The mutual affection between them was so great that Jacopo was always called Sansovino. He was doing important work in Rome when the chastisement fell upon the city in 1527, and it was given over to destruction. Sansovino was obliged to leave Rome, and fled to Venice, intending to go thence to France. But Andrea Gritti, hearing of his presence, immediately sent for him, because at

that time the cupola of S. Mark's had cracked and threatened to fall. Sansovino, undertaking the work, soon made it secure, to the astonishment and satisfaction of Venice. He was appointed its chief architect, and was employed on many of the public buildings, and soon the result was that throughout Venice it became the fashion to build in the new style which he introduced, according to the old system of Vitruvius. He was soon therefore occupied with building within and without the city. He deserves, indeed, to be placed in the first rank of the artists of that city, for he may be said to have, by his knowledge and judgment, entirely changed the city, and made it a new place. He had a great many pupils, and in Vicenza also arose a man of extraordinary genius, Andrea Palladio, who has done so many things in Venice.

The fear of a new Turkish war having disappeared, the citizens occupied themselves in clearing the seas of the corsairs, and in 1569 more than a hundred Christians who were dragging on a miserable existence in chains were restored to liberty and the power of the corsairs much reduced. But the distress this year because of scarcity of corn throughout Italy strangely infuriated the Venetians. Many were reduced to feeding on food that was loathsome; the common people satisfied their hunger with bread made of millet, and grass was eaten, and some perished from utter want of food.

The calamity seemed greater because it befell a city accustomed to abundance of every kind.

To add to all this trouble, a great fire broke out in the Arsenal. It was a part of the city where from the foundation of the Republic there had been a kind of citadel in which all material for war was collected ; and there were docks in which galleys were constructed, and whence they were accustomed to set forth, and again on their return were drawn under roofs and sheltered from the force of the winds and the heat of the sun, and from tempests. A hundred of the lighter and twelve of the larger galleys were always there by order of the Senate, ready prepared, so that at the least suspicion of war they could set out at once. There was a great quantity of sails and cords and chains and masts, boats and skiffs, besides provisions of cannon, muskets, spears, and armour ; and great workshops were maintained at the public expense for carpenters, smiths, founders, in which eager youths were accustomed to practise their arts. Boys of tender years were instructed in their arts to supply loss by time and death, and, thanks to good discipline, industry was encouraged. The whole was surrounded by high walls, and it used to be called the Casa of the Arsenal, because it was arranged in as regular order as if it had been a private house. There were three men appointed to have the care of it, and the Senate chose some of their own body to consult with them. Within

this extensive enclosure it was that the fire insinuated itself in the night among the gunpowder of the artillery, and, spreading itself, exploded with a horrible noise, and with such force that it threw down part of the walls of the house and some very strong towers ; many of the nearer buildings were overthrown, and the more distant, even to the utmost limits of the city, felt the terrible shock. The churches of the Trinità, of S. Francis, and S. Giustina Martire were almost ruined. Santa Maria della Celestia was injured on the side of the monastery ; the railings of the gates, though exceedingly thick, were broken, and the whole building shaken to its foundations, so that the nuns escaped with difficulty and not without some of them being buried under the falling walls.

The whole city seemed to be shattered, and there were many who thought the end of all things had come. The terror was universal, none knowing where to flee amid the cries of women and mad shrieks of people escaping from their houses lest they should be buried under the ruins, and there is no doubt that a sound like thunder was heard at a distance of fifty miles. In the midst of the commotion a number of the citizens and the nobles snatched up their arms and ran to the defence of their country ; but when they came to the piazza and saw the danger of the Arsenal they rushed with eager zeal to its succour. The principal senators ran thither, and a number of the work-

men of the Casa, making great efforts to stop the course of the fire, finally succeeded in preventing it from spreading. For some nights they kept watchmen there and armed sentinels. The amount of damage done did not correspond with the greatness of the alarm. Four galleys only were burnt, and few people compared with the greatness of the shock perished ; and in a few months the walls and the towers were built up again, and the place looked as it had before. That such a disaster should not happen again, it was decreed that the powder should not be kept there, but that certain magazines should be built on the adjacent islands, and orders were issued by the Council for the more careful protection of the city. Great rewards were offered for the discovery of any plot, for the suspicion had been aroused in the city that it had not occurred by accident, but by the hand of man and out of malice. But it never was made clear whether it happened by chance or was the work of some one jealous of the Venetian name.

Then but a few years after, when the clouds which threatened war in Italy were dispersed, and peace was concluded with the Sultan, and the city began to take breath again, there fell upon the Republic a terrible pestilence, which came first from Trent and insinuated itself into the Venetian States, attacking the capital and almost all the States on the mainland. It may be well to consider the methods used to oppose it, and the results of

them, for the sake of considering what should be done in similar cases. The pestiferous germs, concealing themselves from human investigation, developed in the next year, which was so excessively hot and dry that no one could remember its equal. Scarcity of water and abundance of fruit caused a great deal of intemperate living, especially among the poorer people, and there were a great many cases of acute fever, of which the victims died in two or three days. Tumours about the size of nuts appeared behind the ears and pustules under the armpits, and in other places, and finally black spots all over the body, with great weakness, torturing pain in the head, delirium, utter wakefulness and loss of appetite, while the patients appeared livid or of a fiery colour, with eyes almost mad. The magistrates of health issued very severe orders against the poisonous infection. They separated the sick from the healthy, and would not permit any mixing with them until all suspicion of infection was past; burnt all the furniture that could carry it, and shut up the sick in the houses, and would not allow them to go out. The Senate mercifully and liberally allowed everything necessary for food or medicine as the doctors ordered on visiting them; and the doctors agreed that all who showed any signs of being infected should, with their servants, be sent separately outside the city; those who were undoubtedly taken being carried to the island of S. Lazzaro in the lagoon,



and the others to another island dedicated to the same saint, and of these, whom they called Lazaretti, all the furniture of their houses should be burnt. The schools were closed, and all those who went about the city selling were forbidden to sell anything from infected places, and dogs and cats were killed that they might not carry the infection. By these orders, and the watchful care of the magistrates, the disease in the month of January seemed to be extirpated, but when the sun entered the summer solstice it was found that it had only been buried by the cold and frost, and it broke out again with renewed violence. It seemed like the ebb and flow of the sea, and gloom spread again over the city. The Fathers exhausted themselves in their efforts to discover the nature of the disease and its remedy, and the Senate decreed that two professors of medicine of the University of Padua, Girolamo Mercuriale and Girolamo Capodivacca, should be summoned to Venice to discuss the matter with the Venetian doctors. After a long consultation together therefore, they came into the presence of the Prince and the members of the Great Council, and gave their opinion in two opposite senses. The doctors of Venice held the disease to be epidemic and pestilential. The Paduans thought it very serious, but that it was entirely wanting in any infectious character; because it had been confined to the poor quarters, and (which seemed a very strong argument) they offered to visit the sick, saying

they should not fear to run the risk of losing their lives, which were as dear to them as to others.

Between the two opinions the senators wavered, realising that either view was very important. For if it was generally said that the city was afflicted with pestilence, it would cause great terror to every order of persons, the duties would diminish, the city would be avoided by all merchants. Therefore the opinion of Mercuriale and Capodivacca prevailed. The signoria assigned to the professors houses and servants and assistants, gave permission to all freely to meet together everywhere ; and to calm the public terror, in place of the whitened boats in which the dead and their property had been carried out of the city, they provided others. Such measures seemed rash and perilous, but when they were published in the city it caused great joy among all the people ; they recovered from the overwhelming terror to which they had yielded, and began to be hopeful again. Mercuriale and Capodivacca undertook the care of the sick, with the help of two Paduan professors and four Venetian doctors, who had adopted their opinions, and two Jesuit priests. Entering intrepidly into the houses, they brought medicine and spiritual consolation to the sick, and helped many with their own money ; and at first all promised well, for the city was delivered from the weight of the fear, and filled with hope for the future.

But it is hardly credible how rapidly the force

of the pestilence increased. In the space of forty days the disease, running through parts of the city hitherto untouched, filled houses of every class with the dead. More than one of those who had devoted themselves to the care of the sick died, and the rest were unable to dispute any longer the nature of the disease. No part of the city was spared; so that people began in sheer terror to flee from the city hoping to escape the imminent peril, neglecting all thought of their business affairs. The people of the capital dispersed over the country, especially the Trevisan and Paduan districts; the inns were closed; the street in which the chief shops were, commonly called Merceria, was left desolate, as if business had been suspended for some public mourning; the courts were without clients, and without advocates; horror and death reigned everywhere.

At such a time, when every other light seemed fading, the Doge Luigi Mocenigo and the Senate shone forth brightly. Most of the magistracies were closed, but the Council of Ten and the Forty remained steadfast. Though senators died and those who were addressing the Council in the morning were absent in the evening, because the pestilence had cut them down, yet the Senate had a full attendance all the time.

But all through the city nothing was heard but wailing and lamentation. Men lay dead in the houses, and even in the streets, because there were

not barges enough to carry them away, and so the contagion spread until the pestilence seemed to have surmounted every obstacle that men could place in its road. Law and the government were no longer feared ; audacity took the place of fear, and a desperate recklessness of hope. The daily funerals, bringing death ever before their eyes, so hardened men's hearts that they were restrained by no fear of punishment, human or divine, and, stupefied by misery, they fell into every kind of sin.

The Doge and the Fathers therefore, turning from man's vain struggles to the help of Heaven, determined solemnly to entreat the help of God, the Virgin, and the Saints. The Senate passed a decree that since it could not but be on account of their sins that such a heavy judgment had fallen upon them, three days—that is, the 5th, 7th, and 8th of September—should be set apart as days of humiliation, and to implore the Divine assistance. And the Doge—in the name of the Republic, vowed to build a church to be dedicated to the Redeemer, where every year remembrance should be made of the pestilence and the answer to their prayers. The vow had scarcely been taken when the city seemed to shake off its heavy burden and to breathe again. The day after, four men only died, where two hundred and more had been counted. By the beginning of November it had begun greatly to abate, and on January 1st health was restored to the rejoicing city. But of the

greatness of the calamity there is no want of testimony.

When the danger showed itself the aged Titian sought to escape the pestilence by going back to his native place ; but the passes being closed to prevent the infection being carried farther, he was forced to remain, and in his ninety-ninth year he was struck down by it, and, after his death, his son Orazio also fell a victim to it. He had been praised especially for skill in portrait painting, and a picture from his hand was in the Council Chamber. But being inclined to splendid living and ease, and having no want of means, he troubled himself little with painting, but during his researches into alchemy much of the fruit of his father's genius vanished in smoke.

Funeral ceremonies were at that time forbidden, but the authorities permitted to Titian the honour of burial, and he was laid in the Frari, at the foot of the altar of the Crucifix, as he had himself ordered, with such care as was compatible with the time, and with the honours of a knight. But when, by the pity of the Redeemer, to whom the city had recourse, the trouble passed away, the Venetian painters celebrated his memory with a public funeral.

On the abating of the sickness it was decreed in the Senate that they should proceed to the building of the church. And it was agreed it should be built on a piece of land called the

Giudecca, separated from the rest of the city by a wide canal, and that the Capuchin monks of S. Francis should be put in charge of it, as by their strict discipline it would be maintained in good repute. On the third Sunday in July, the day set apart for thanksgiving, the Doge passed over to the Giudecca and visited the church of the Redentore with a magnificent procession of all the friars and religious bodies, followed by a great number of people. The great genius and science of the architect Andrea Palladio being employed on this work, the church rose rapidly and was brought to its perfect completion.

## CHAPTER XXVII

### TINTORETTO AND PAOLO VERONESE

CHRISTENDOM was greatly surprised when the name of Michele Gheslieri was proposed in the conclave by Alexander Farnese and Carlo Borromeo, and the election was felt by all to have been guided by divine inspiration. The danger from the Turkish fleets soon engaged his thoughts. It was the common expectation that they would attack Ancona to seize the rich treasures of the house of Loreto, and the Pope, Pius V., therefore sought to unite with the Venetians, looking for help from their galleys. King Philip was also greatly disquieted by the Turkish preparations, but it was the Pope's incredible zeal and fervour in defending the Christian dominions that kept the league together and brought about the great victory.

The public joy in Venice at the departure of the plague was soon interrupted by a great fire which broke out in the halls in which the Great Council and the Senate were accustomed to meet. It began in the chimney of a room at a time when the palace and also the piazza are comparatively empty, and, catching the roof, melted the lead, which poured



down outside like rain mixed with hail, while the flames burst out above. The Fathers and those who inhabited the neighbourhood ran to the spot, and the disaster was made known by the ringing of the bell. The masters of the Arsenal, with their watchmen, were summoned to help, and the citizens hurried to the piazza, endeavouring at all costs to stop the fire, which was threatening S. Mark's, the Public Library, and the Mint. They shielded them from the sparks and flames by hanging blankets soaked in water from the roofs. Meanwhile the beams of the roof of the palace wrapped in flames and thick clouds of smoke were seen, one moment high in the sky, and then falling suddenly with a great crash, bringing down the ceiling of the Great Council Hall, and the hall known by the name of the Scrutinio. In the ruin perished the works which the Fathers had had painted there in memory of the great deeds of Venetians of old days by the hands of Giovanni Bellini, Titian, and the other great painters. The next day the fire threatened to break out again, and, in extinguishing it, all that had remained was destroyed, until nothing but the walls, spoiled of their ornament, were left.

The largest room in the Arsenal was prepared for the Great Council to meet in, with the seat for the Doge arranged as in the Council Hall, and on the 18th of January they met to consider the matter of the rebuilding of the palace. Some held that

it must be rebuilt from the foundations, but the palace was examined by those who understood the matter, and the walls were pronounced to be safe. The Fathers therefore, realising what singular art would be needed to rebuild so vast and solid an edifice in the manner of the primitive times, and to imitate in our days the older methods, decreed that no change should be made in the form. It was therefore rapidly restored, and brought to the condition in which it is now; and on the walls again appeared the great deeds of our ancestors, and to them were added those of more recent days with the famous victory at Curzolari (Lepanto); and all must acknowledge that Jacopo Tintoretto and his companions have brought to the work no less genius than patient industry.

Jacopo was the son of Battista Robusti, a citizen of Venice and a dyer of cloth, and it was from his father's occupation that he took his name of Tintoretto. The boy used to draw figures on the walls, and paint them with his father's colours, and his parents, seeing how strong was his natural inclination to art, placed him with Titian. But in a few days Titian, coming into the room where his pupils were working, saw some paper lying at the foot of a bench, and, picking it up, asked who had drawn the figures on it. Jacopo, supposing they were full of mistakes, answered timidly that they were his. Titian, as if from a foreboding that the painter might make his position at the head of his

profession insecure, went away angrily to hang up his cloak, and called his pupil Girolamo, and bade him send Jacopo home. The boy, not understanding the reason, went away very much distressed and cast down, but such treatment sometimes stings a noble disposition to greater exertion, and Jacopo determined to study Titian's works and those of Michael Angelo, and make himself a painter in spite of everything. And he wrote on his walls as what he proposed for a law to himself, "The drawing of Michael Angelo, and the colour of Titian." With long and careful study he prepared himself, and soon showed what Nature had done for him. Observing a new house being built near the Bridge dell' Angelo, he conceived a desire to paint it. Applying to the builders, who often were called upon to provide the painter, he was told that the master of the house did not want it painted. However, he was determined to do it at any cost, and offered to charge only for the paints. This being referred to the master, he was, with some difficulty, induced to consent. A similar caprice induced him to paint a little house belonging to a dyer, and the painters began to remark that he was occupying the most conspicuous places in the city.

When he had made a name for himself by good work, the Senate appointed him to paint in the Council Hall, where they were arranging for the repainting of the old pictures, such as the works

of Guariento, Gentile da Fabriano, and others. To the same work was appointed Paolo Veronese.

He was the son of Gabriello Caliarì of Verona, the illustrious Lombard city, famous for its antiquities, its theatres, and triumphal arches, rivalling the ruins of Rome, and the pleasantness of its situation, watered by the rushing Adige, which flowed beneath its delightful hills. When Paolo had begun to work for himself, he was invited by Cardinal Ercole Gonzaga to paint in the cathedral of Mantua, restored, or rather remodelled, by Giulio Romano. Returning home he found that a prophet has little honour in his own country, and set out to improve his condition under more favourable skies, and coming to Venice, in spite of the formidable rivalry of Titian and the other Venetians, was able to win full acknowledgment of his talents. When therefore the renewal of the pictures in the Council Chamber was decided upon, and Tintoretto and Orazio, Titian's son, were set to work, the fame he had gained won him an appointment to execute one of the larger pictures.

Afterwards the procurators of S. Mark, wishing to have the library painted, charged Titian to make a selection among the younger painters for the works. He named Giuseppe Salviati, Battista Franco, Lo Schiavone, Il Zelotti, Il Fratina, and Paolo, who amongst the first obtained the work of painting three designs in the ceiling. The

procurators had decreed that a mark of special honour should be granted to the painter who should depict himself the best, leaving it to Titian and Sansovino to decide. They, unwilling to pronounce judgment, left it to the competitors themselves, arranging that each should give his opinion about the work of the others; and it was agreed that Paolo had carried off the prize. The procurators therefore presented him with a gold chain, which is still preserved as a precious relic in his family.

Tintoretto was not one of those chosen by Titian for the work in the library, but from the procurators he obtained leave to paint some philosophers on the wall, and, by a wonderful painting of Diogenes, vindicated himself from the slur put upon him by Titian, showing clearly how unjust he had been to him.

The brethren of the Scuola of San Rocco resolved to have an important picture made for them, and called upon the best of the painters to make designs for it. Tintoretto secretly obtained the measurements from the servants, and, while the others were making drawings merely, he with admirable rapidity painted the picture itself, which represented San Rocco escorted to heaven by angels; and then, without saying anything to any one, he put the picture in its place. On the appointed day Paolo Veronese, Andrea Schiavone, Giuseppe Salviati, Federico Zuccaro, arrived and

displayed their drawings, and called upon Tintoretto to show his. Upon that he uncovered the completed picture, saying, that if his ready service did not please them, he would make a gift of it to San Rocco, from whom he had received many favours. The other painters were astonished to see such a beautiful work executed so perfectly in such a short time, and, gathering up their drawings, told the brethren that they would make no claim, for Tintoretto had earned every possible honour. They, however, insisted that the picture should be taken down, saying that they had not given him any order for it, but had only asked for a sketch that they might chose as pleased them. They were, however, obliged to keep it, because their rules did not permit them to refuse any gift to the saint, and as the greater part of them voted for Tintoretto, it was agreed that he should be suitably rewarded, and more than that, they received him into their confraternity and decided that he only should paint the other pictures, assigning him an annual stipend of a hundred ducats, with the duty of painting one picture annually. He carried out the work very rapidly, and the annual pension was paid many years after the work was done. He used to say jokingly, when he was old, that he should like another thousand ducats of life.

When the halls of the Scrutinio and the Council Chamber were burnt, it was decided by the Senate that they should be nobly restored and adorned



with new paintings, and a special decree named for the work Tintoretto and Paolo, and afterwards Il Palma, Bassano and others were added, on account of the amount of work that had to be done. The work being divided among them, all of them were very eager about their part in it except Paolo. Contarino, one of the lords, sharply rebuked him because he did not come to take up his part, as if he did not care for the honour or the public service. Paolo replied that he valued highly the good fortune of serving his prince when he was asked, but he had no need to seek employment. Contarino began to entreat him more gently, and so the next morning he appeared and began upon one of his great works, Venice, Queen of the Adriatic, with the Capture of Smyrna and the Defence of Scutari. In the Sala del Collegio he painted the Doge Sebastian Veniero, the most famous hero who ever led the Venetian armies, whom he represented giving thanks for victory over the Turks, and accompanied by Faith with the Chalice, and Venice, and Santa Giustina, on whose day the victory was won, and Agostino Barbarigo, who died gloriously in the conflict. Paolo improved his colouring after he came to Venice by the study of Titian and Tintoretto. His having frequently to work beside Tintoretto forced him to exert all his powers, and the two were constantly striving to surpass each other. If Tintoretto showed greater power in expressing



the figure with learned art and great energy of colour and noble thought, Veronese charmed by a majestic invention, a wise choice of subjects, the sweet expression of the faces, the infinite grace and attractiveness which appear in his work, so that in the doubtful contest one can but say that one is the Castor and the other the Pollux of painting. Paolo never made unworthy efforts to gain employment or degraded his profession by unworthy conduct, keeping his promises and earning praise for his general behaviour. He wore rich clothes of velvet, which have been preserved. He ruled his family with great prudence, keeping his children out of the way of hurtful practices, and teaching them to observe a moral behaviour and religious habits. He lived in a style far removed from luxury, and was sparing of expense, so that he was able to acquire large property and accumulate riches.

For the great victory obtained by the Republic over the Turks at Lepanto in 1571, the Senate determined that it should be painted on the walls of the Scrutinio to keep the glorious event in memory. The work was given to Titian with Giuseppe Salviati to assist him. But whatever was the cause, and it is narrated in different ways—it was put off from time to time, and that gave an opportunity to Tintoretto, who claimed to do all the work of the city, to get the job for himself. He went therefore to the meeting of the Council, and pointed out to the Doge and the Senate that, being a good

citizen, he had always nourished a great desire to express his devotion to his prince, and that now he had an opportunity of illustrating this happy victory won with so much glory to the Venetian arms, and that he would undertake to render good service without any reward but the praise of having served his prince. He promised to complete the work in a year (though he had many things in hand), and if at the end of two years another artist had completed a better he would remove his own. The Senate therefore, who knew his powers, and saw that little fruit could be expected from the aged Titian, determined to grant him the work. The glorious victory was so represented that the principal events of the battle are seen in it. Sebastiano Veniero, the Venetian general, and Don John of Austria are painted from life, and Marco Antonio Colonna, for the Pope, is encouraging the combatants at the most dangerous moments of the struggle. Agostino Barbarigo is seen wounded in the eye by the arrow which killed him, and in short there is the great hurry and tumult and *mêlée* of war without confusion, and it was carried to completion with a perfection that disappointed Titian and the other competitors.

When the king, Henry III. of France and Poland, landed in Venice, Tintoretto worked with Veronese on some figures for an arch erected by Andrea Palladio. But Tintoretto had undertaken to paint the king, so he asked Paolo to finish the

little there was to do, and, taking off his toga, dressed himself in the garb of one of the Doge's guards and joined them on the Bucintoro, which went to meet the king, secretly making the drawing in chalks during the voyage, and afterwards reproducing the little sketch life-size. Then, having made friends with M. Bellegarde, the king's treasurer, he was introduced into the royal chambers to touch it up from life.

When Guariento's Paradise was to be repainted, it was given first to Paolo Veronese and Francesco Bassano to work together. But Paolo died, and it was finally allotted to Tintoretto, who had left no stone unturned to obtain it. He used to say to the Senators, that as he was old he was praying for this Paradise to be given him in this life that he might earn Paradise in the other. After many previous designs he began the present one on a canvas 30 feet high by 74 feet wide. He spared himself no fatigue, effacing and repainting what did not please him, and studying every detail with great care. But not being able at his age to endure the fatigue of constantly going up and down, he made his son help him, though some say he worked only on the embroidery and ornament. The Signoria assigned him generous payment, but he refused it and asked for much less. This was the way he often behaved, and this was why he aroused so much hatred among the other painters, who thought he failed to uphold the dignity of art.

## CHAPTER XXVIII

### THE CARACCI

WHILE the geniuses of the Bolognese school were distinguishing themselves abroad, Primaticcio at the court of France, and Tibaldi at the court of Spain, painting, instead of making progress in Bologna, was decaying fast. The chief blame must be laid on the artist Fontana, whose long career lasted from the time of Francia till the Caracci left him without work and without followers. He was, however, the maker of his own fortunes, for, being devoted to luxury, he found it necessary to undertake a great number of works and execute them hastily and carelessly. Vasari's works in Bologna were much studied by young artists, and Fontana, who educated not a few of his fellow-citizens, followed Vasari's methods, but his drawing is more careless, the action more exaggerated, his colour unpleasant. Lodovico Caracca was the first who came to the support of the perishing art of painting. Taking the best from all the artists, he formed, as it were, a brief compendium ; uniting the correct drawing of Raffaello to the intelligence of Michael Angelo, and

adding the colour of Titian and the grace of Correggio. Fontana was his first master, and he, not finding in him the daring qualities which were his own gifts, did not appreciate his diligent and careful study, and advised him to abandon a profession for which nature had not qualified him. This sentence was confirmed by Tintoretto. He told him that, as he was not born with a nature more apt for art, he had better not apply himself any more to such labours. But Lodovico studied as hard as a man can to supply what his natural disposition wanted, and went to Florence to study the tender and correct in Andrea del Sarto, to Parma for the graceful in Parmigiano and the divine in Correggio, to Mantua for the terrible in Giulio Romano and the scientific in Primaticcio, and finally, to Venice. The famous statues and fine paintings of Rome he missed, for it is certain that he did not see Rome until he was approaching old age, and was already a great master. When he left Fontana he applied himself to the works of two of his fellow-countrymen, Bagnacavallo for colour and Tibaldi for drawing, calling the latter the reformed Michael Angelo.

Returning to Bologna after his travels, he showed such great advance as gave no little mortification to his old master and his fellow-pupils, by whom he was nicknamed the "ox" from his slow ways. He had reached a point when he was able to assist his family.

His father, whose name was Vincenzio, had been

a butcher, now employed himself in the business part of his son's work, recommending him to friends, and sending his pictures to be exhibited in the castles and cities round.' He was also assisted by his cousin Agostino, a tailor, an honest man and intimate with the nobles and citizens, who had two sons who showed much inclination to the same profession, drawing on the margins of their books at the grammar school, and scribbling on the walls outside. Agostino, who was the elder, was taken away from a goldsmith's where he had distinguished himself, and was placed with Fontana. The other, Annibale, Lodovico kept with himself, for he saw that his ardour was in more need of being regulated and restrained than of being stirred up; and Agostino was timid in art and cautious, Annibale courageous and careless. Agostino could give a good account of himself in philosophy, medicine, mathematics, and astrology. He was acquainted with history, and something of a poet. Annibale could do little more than read and write; having been taken into his father's business, and then straight from the needle to the pencil. At the age of eighteen he produced pictures which not only won the approval of Lodovico, but of every disinterested judge, and gave promise of great success. But the envious rivals of the Caracci derided them, and a very bitter feeling was displayed. The young artists went on working, and awaiting their time, never absent from the



Accademia dei Baldi, modelling in the morning, and drawing from life in the evening hours most diligently and assiduously. At last the bitterness became so great that Lodovico persuaded them to go away and take the same course of study as he had done. The first to follow his advice was Annibale, but Agostino seems to have stayed for some time working at engraving with Domenico Tibaldi, and afterwards to have gone to Venice. However it was, they visited other cities, and followed Lodovico's example, as their copies of famous pictures remain to testify. It is said that after their return Signor Filippo Fava, having sent for Master Antonio, their father, to employ him about his clothes at the time when he was building his fine palace, near the new church, the good man put forward his sons and prayed the lord to make use of them, saying they had improved greatly while they were away, and that Lodovico gave them great praise, and they were ready to work diligently for the honour only, and to make themselves known. So it happened that a room was allotted to them to be painted for a very small sum. They determined to paint the story of Jason as a copious and fertile subject, with rivers and seas and mountains and plains and woods, giants and wild beasts and monsters, dances and sports, weddings and funerals, sacrifices, and such things. The design was Agostino's, who, not content with so much variety, added by the side of each picture



two gods symbolic of the subject. Lodovico sketched many things for them, and arranged and corrected the work; and Annibale executed the chief part of it, except that Agostino, who did not feel sure of himself in colour, devoted himself to these gods, which were worked in chiaroscuro, representing statues. Though the work gained general approbation, it did not altogether satisfy Signor Filippo, for their rivals pointed out to him much to find fault with, especially Annibale's hasty, impatient work. When therefore he desired another work in a smaller room, it was agreed it should be entirely from the hand of Lodovico, except that in chiaroscuro he might make use of the services of Agostino. It is unnecessary to describe this work as it is well known in engravings. It shut every one's mouth, as far as Lodovico was concerned.

Agostino and Annibale then, with Lodovico's consent, opened an academy in his house, and it obtained such a reputation that learned men used to come to bring their difficulties with respect to art to be solved there. Day and night painting and modelling from the life was carried on. They had the best casts of bas-reliefs and ancient statues, and a large collection of drawings from the old masters; and Agostino, who delighted in medals, made use of his erudition to explain them. They taught anatomy, and even practised anatomical researches. They used to act as models among

themselves; Agostino would place himself in the attitude Lodovico desired, for they held that a man who did not understand could not represent, and that was why models had so insipid and posed an air. There is a drawing in the museum at Florence of a back view of Venus, for which Lodovico, who was stout and fleshy, is said to have stood. Annibale from his earliest years had shown a particular genius for satire and caricature, often assailing even those most dear to him, and not sparing even his master Lodovico. He could not abstain from too great enjoyment in this exercise, in the drawing of which he showed great skill.

The Signori Lambertini engaged Lodovico to paint in fresco a chapel of San Domenico. The principal picture had been entrusted to a great artist in Florence, who was supposed to surpass all the artists of Bologna, but they gave the less important work to Lodovico for the sake of saving the expense. Lodovico himself, afraid of his rival, went out of town when the picture was to arrive, staying away until the first discussion was over, and waited anxiously for an account of it from his cousins. Agostino, who was always fond of his jokes, amused himself by joining Annibale in representing it as the finest thing possible. Lodovico, he said, had better take care to avoid any such partnership in future, as he would understand when he saw the work. The next day therefore, Lodovico, palpitating with fear, arrived at midday,

to find that the sight of the picture was the greatest consolation and relief, revealing to all his great superiority, and the whole affair ended in great laughter from all present.

A finer work still was the chapel of the Convertite, which he painted in fresco, with the altar piece in oils. Lodovico hated introducing portraits into sacred pictures, saying it was a thing done by painters who were wanting in invention, and that in old times the likeness was an attraction; but as Raffaello had consented to introduce the Pope himself in the person of his holy predecessor, he determined to put the four donors in as four saints. The two brothers were pallid and extremely attenuated, so with a little ingenuity he contrived to turn one into S. Dominic, and the other in profile into S. Francis. In the two ladies, one who lived a sober life served in her black garments and widow's veil for a S. Martha, and the other, whose features he did not find it convenient to show, he placed in front, gazing at the Virgin, showing nothing but the point of her nose, but, with beautiful hair covering her bare shoulders, she made what was considered a most beautiful S. Mary Magdalene. In this work he had Correggio so much in his mind that if he had been living you would have had no difficulty in asserting that it had at least been touched by that great master.

Lodovico's fame, however, was not more spread

by these works than Agostino's by his engravings. They were so warmly received all over the world that commissions came to him from all parts, and Domenico Tibaldi and the other publishers grew rich by them, and contended for them, paying him large sums, and selling them at great prices. It was even proposed in Venice to issue a decree that the works of the four principal luminaries of Venetian painting might not be engraved by any but Caraccio—that is, the works of Titian, Paolo, Tintoretto and Palma.

Of Annibale it would be impossible to say how many pictures he painted in his native town, and in Modena, in Reggio, in Parma, the cities to which he continually resorted, attracted by the works of his beloved Correggio. In a picture placed first in San Marcello al Corso, he succeeded in resisting his youthful hot-headed eagerness and endeavoured to show something of Lodovico's sagacity and Agostino's learning. It combines the characteristics of Titian, Correggio, Paolo and Parmigiano. Lodovico rejoiced over it. "This, Annibale," he said, "is the style that pleases me; this you must keep to!"

On one occasion Agostino ventured to compete for a picture with his brother, and fortune, or his real merit, would have it that his was accepted and his brother's rejected. He made so many changes in his work that his designs remained for months with their faces to the wall, and the

Fathers began to think he had undertaken what he could not carry out. One of the Fathers, thinking to stir him up, told him at last that it was generally said that it would not succeed, for his work was engraving and not painting. "Yes," he answered, "that is true, and as I am an honest man, I will return the earnest money." The Father drew back and refused to take it, saying it was only a joke, but they attempted in vain to smooth over the irritated artist, and it was not till the vice-legate intervened that he yielded.

It is said Annibale would not pardon his brother his success. He satirically bade his brother leave colour alone as too troublesome, and go on with his engraving, urging that there were too many of them in one profession, and that they might make a sign for an inn out of the "three painters." But it was not this that caused him to go to Rome. He was summoned thither by Cardinal Odoardo Farnese, the brother of the Duke of Parma. Lodovico had been offered the work with directions to bring Annibale with him, but he prevailed upon them to allow Agostino, who was desiring much to see the beauties of Rome, to go in his stead. What happened in consequence? "It was all Agostino's pedantry," wrote Annibale to Lodovico; "he was never content with anything I did, always finding fault with me, always altering and bringing people on to the scaffold to hinder me. He never did anything or let me do it." This, I believe, was

but an excuse, and the breach between them was caused by his jealousy. But however it may be, Agostino found it well to leave Rome and the work. He returned to his native place with mortification, and it was noticed that he had lost all his gaiety. It is true he went to Parma to work for the duke in his famous palace Il Giardino, and painted in a room there *Celestial and Earthly Love*, a most beautiful picture which he brought to conclusion before he died, with the exception of one figure, which the duke would not have completed by another. Annibale found himself unable to get on without his support, and if he had not been aided by Lodovico he would have abandoned the work in Rome.

In Bologna the general feeling was that Annibale was the greatest painter in the family; but many add that Agostino was the greatest genius, and Lodovico, to whom we owe the two others, the greatest master.

## CHAPTER XXIX

### PUPILS OF THE CARACCI

IN the year of the Jubilee, 1575, the Confraternity della Morte went to Rome for the blessings of the Indulgence, and in the splendid company of pilgrims went a choir of chosen musicians, among whom was Daniele Reni. While he was there he received the news of the birth of a son, Guido ; and on his return his joy was increased by finding that the Graces themselves seemed to reside in the child's countenance, and as he grew his beauty grew also, and seemed but the revelation of a beautiful nature. Daniele had intended his son to be a musician and to succeed him in a post he held under the Signoria, but the child was devoted to drawing and making clay models in a style that was remarkable for his age, and the Flemish artist, Denis Calvart, who lived at Bologna, persuaded him to consign him to his charge. Guido soon overcame the first difficulties, and at the age of thirteen was found capable of giving instruction to his school-fellows, and also of keeping order ; his modest, sober behaviour being as remarkable as unusual at his age. All the school were



astonished at his talents, and among them were Domenichino and Albani.

But the more useful he made himself to Denis the more unbearable became his master's roughness and unfair treatment. He employed him to help him in much of his work, and gave him but little of the remuneration. Meanwhile the Caracci allowed any one that liked to come into their academy, and Guido became very pleased with their style, and wanted to join them. But beginning to show in his works something easy and natural which partook of their manner, Denis fell into a furious rage, and rubbed it out in his rough overbearing way. Guido bore his treatment for a long time, but being attacked one day for using a certain colour which had been forbidden, he threw his easel down and ran away, leaving Denis surprised at his sudden resolution. He would have done anything to get him back again, and employed Albani to entreat him, but in vain.

Guido therefore joined the Caracci when he had not yet completed his twentieth year, undertaking to make drawings, lay grounds, and do anything they desired, with whatever remuneration they liked to give him for his work. He soon began to produce work which caused astonishment to his masters and all the school. At the praise he won he used to blush so much that Lodovico said his modest nature might be very profitable to him, for when he added to his natural beauty this sudden

increase of colour he made a perfect model for an angel. His readiness to help and pleasant ways gained him affection and the esteem and respect of all. Annibale alone was less well affected to him, either from an antipathy of nature or because his success awoke in him some spark of jealousy. He was working one day at a picture of the Virgin and Saints, and Lodovico was showing him how to put in the children so that the muscles should not show too distinctly ; and when Guido was gone, Annibale said to Lodovico, " Do not teach him so much ; do not teach him everything, or he will one day know more than all of us. Do you not see that he is never content, but always trying to find out something fresh, something more pretty or more choice. One day, Lodovico, he may make you sigh."

At this time Caravaggio was astonishing Rome by his pictures with violent and strange lights and shadows, and with men and women drawn in a crudely natural style. One of these paintings was brought to Bologna, and Lodovico was eager to see it and know whether it was equal to the reputation which had preceded it. He was astonished when he saw nothing but a violent contrast of light and shade, and a too close adherence to nature—no beauty, little grace, and less intelligence. Annibale was present and said : " Well, where is the marvel of it ? It must be just the novelty of it that attracts. I can think of another way," he



*Guido Reni*

*Alinari*

ST. SEBASTIAN  
(*Gall. Capitolina, Rome*)



added, "which would overthrow the reputation of this. I would do the very opposite in everything. To the roughness of this I would oppose the tender. This conceals the difficulties in the darkness of night. I would display in a bright midday light the most learned and careful study. I would choose the most perfect parts from different models, and I would adjust and alter a little to give the figure the nobility and harmony that it needs."

Guido was present and heard these words, and his master's voice seemed to him like the voice of the Delphic oracle. He set himself to practise, to work out and refine the idea, and became the first to introduce the new manner. The first example of it that he produced was an Orpheus, which Agostino gave him to do for the Signori Lambertini, paying him for it with his own hand twenty scudi, and counting them out with as many pauses and expressive gesticulations as if they had been three hundred, for which sum it was afterwards sold to some Frenchman.

He had painted for a nun a picture of the Adoration of the Magi, and had been promised payment according to the labour. It contained thirty or more figures, and when it was finished he asked for it thirty scudi. This was considered too much, and after some haggling it was decided to refer it to Lodovico. He, remarking that after all it was only a pupil's work, pronounced that ten scudi would be good payment. Guido submitted

to his master's decision, but could not prevent complaining that he had been unfairly treated. In consequence he left the Caracci and set up for himself, but Lodovico felt some remorse for having allowed himself to be drawn into such treatment of his beloved pupil. His fame soon began to spread and reached Rome, where Annibale was now working in the Farnese Gallery. Interest in this work induced him to set out with Albani for the great city. Annibale did not care for his presence there, and reproached Albani for bringing him; but if Annibale did not like him, Caravaggio hated him and endeavoured to frighten him away by violent language and threats, and no doubt might have proceeded further if Guido had not had the protection of the great. But though the critics might find fault with him, the magic of a new style and the great charm of his painting excited so much admiration that his enemies were silenced.

Annibale stirred up Albani and Domenichino to aim at outdoing him. Domenichino was the son of a shoemaker, and had been intended for the priesthood; but Heaven had ordained that he should be a painter. His father, though greatly distressed, permitted him to study under Calvart; but being found copying Agostino Caracci's engravings, his master beat him so severely that he broke his head and then turned him out of the house. He hid in an attic all night, but his father

finding him in the morning covered with blood permitted him to leave Calvart and go to the Caracci. He is generally considered to have been the Caracci's best pupil. At first he showed himself slow, being really very accurate and profound, but by perpetually criticising himself with severity he drilled himself into being a most exact and expressive draughtsman, a very true and firm painter, and a thorough master of the theory of art. To give himself thoroughly to art he fled from society and only appeared in public places to study the expression of passion in the faces of the people until he attained, as it has been said, to the power of "painting the soul."

Commissions meanwhile came so fast to Guido that he had to invent excuses to avoid them. He began to complain that he had no rest, but must be always planning and designing, and preparing drawings for his assistants to work from. The Pope used to visit him familiarly when he was working, and finding Il Lanfranco working upon the drapery complained that Guido took the money but applied himself little to the work. "Holy Father," he answered, "a picture is like a bond from your Holiness, which is of no value until it is signed by your Holiness's hand. The thoughts and the design are mine, and I myself shall sign it with my own hand." Another day the Pope complaining that the work was going very slowly, urged that it should be distributed among assist-



ants, but he answered, "It would indeed be sooner done, but not by Guido's hand."

He worked therefore with a rapidity that was not according to his nature, and finished his first work for the Pope in seven months, to the Pope's great content and to the admiration of the whole court. It was pronounced to surpass the Last Judgment of the Vatican, the Loggia di Chigi, and the Farnese Gallery, but it deserved the few words that the Pope pronounced, that it was a little model on earth of the glory to be enjoyed in heaven. But the Treasurer trying to beat him down in his demands, bitter words passed between them, and, packing up his things, he set off for his native town.

There he gave out that he should give up painting and devote himself to trading in pictures. He had already made a large collection when he heard from his old master, Calvart, that it was said he dared not compete with the Caracci. Meanwhile the Pope, growing impatient, was told of his departure, and ordered him to be fetched back, pledging his word that every imaginable desire should be satisfied, and finally, but after a great deal of persuasion, he returned to Rome, being promised the usual provision and eighty scudi a fortnight. He was received with great enthusiasm, and the greater part of the cardinals and princes waited upon him, many having sent their carriages to bring him into the city. When he reached the



Guercino

TWO CHERUBS

DETAIL FROM THE PICTURE OF S. MARGARET OF CORTONA  
(*The Vatican*)

Bregi



Pope's presence he had no sooner begun his submission than it was cut short by the Pope, who said, "What have we done, Signor Guido, that you should leave us in such a way? If you were not treated well it was not our intention." Guido confessed afterwards that he was moved; for although Michael Angelo had been reproved no less moderately by Julius II., yet his fierce aspect and angry eye might well have made him fear the terrible wrath that fortunately vented itself on the innocent bishop; while "Paul V.," he said, "in speaking to me, was so gentle that it moved my very heart to sorrow that I had grieved him." Returning to Bologna, a picture was ordered for Genoa, for which Guido demanded a thousand scudi, and would not abate his price. When he obtained it he sent to Lodovico saying that he had found a way of earning more than ten scudi a picture. When it was finished it was necessary to introduce in companies the crowds who went to see it, with no little peril to the picture. Guercino was there, but, first of all, came Calvart, for whom Guido ordered a seat to be brought, saying he was his first and true master from whom he had learnt all he knew; but after this he hid himself, not being able to face the praises that awaited him. But Dionigi followed him into his retreat, crying, "O my Guido, my Guido, blessed are your hands!" and seizing them, he kissed them and bathed them with his tears, so that all present

were moved. But Guido courteously bade him moderate his applause. Lodovico came with the next company, and hiding his vexation, after having well considered it, he said, turning to his friends, "Let us go, for he has surpassed himself." The other rivals or declared enemies of Guido, with true astonishment or lying flattery, followed with their admiration.

In his later years many found fault with his style, attributing it either to age weakening his mind and strength, or to his working too rapidly to supply his necessities. In those days he had given himself to gambling, and began to ask for money beforehand to supply his frequent losses; so that it became necessary for him to work slightly and rapidly, because he was besieged by his creditors. There is no need to speak of work done in such sad times and under such miserable influences. They were works of despair and not of glory.

Giovanni Francesco Barbieri, surnamed Guercino da Cento, has been generally counted among the Caracci school. He never frequented their academy, but he was for some time in Bologna. Lodovico used to say he feared to see a picture of Guercino near one of his, because the eye was so dazzled with the excessive light, that by the side of it the best pictures attracted no attention.

## APPENDIX

*The Authorities cited opposite each chapter are those from whom  
the major part of its contents are drawn*

CHAP.

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